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HISTORIC BYWAYS AND HIGHWAYS OF
OLD ENGLAND.



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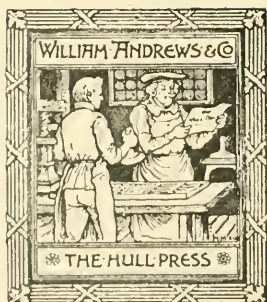
Historic Byways
and Highways . .
of Old England.

Edited by
William Andrews.



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1900.



Preface.

I N the present volume I have continued my studies of the social and domestic England. Several of my friends who have special knowledge on the subjects they have written about have kindly favoured me with contributions, which add value and interest to the volume.

My thanks are due to the Rev. Charles Bullock, who has been good enough to place at my disposal the illustrations for the chapter on "Anglo-Saxon Homes." They are from his instructive book, entitled "How They Lived in the Olden Time."

If the work receives the same welcome from the press and the public as given to my previous books on similar lines, I shall have reason to feel grateful.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

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Historic Byways and Highways of Old England.



Anglo-Saxon Homes.



IN dealing with the social history of our forefathers, whom for convenience we call Anglo-Saxons, we must be careful to keep in mind, what is too often over-looked, that the long period—six hundred years—which elapsed between the first settlement of the English in Britain and the Norman Conquest was one not of stagnation but of progress, and that (to use Mr. Thrupp's words) “there was as much difference between the morals and manners of the times of Hengist and Horsa and those of the reign of Edward the Confessor as between the customs of England

under Henry VII. and those of the present day. We must look accordingly not so much at the domestic relations of the people at a particular period as at the history of the different relations through which they passed."

They had come over from the shores of the Baltic Sea, three powerful tribes, known there as the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons; what were they in their homes there?

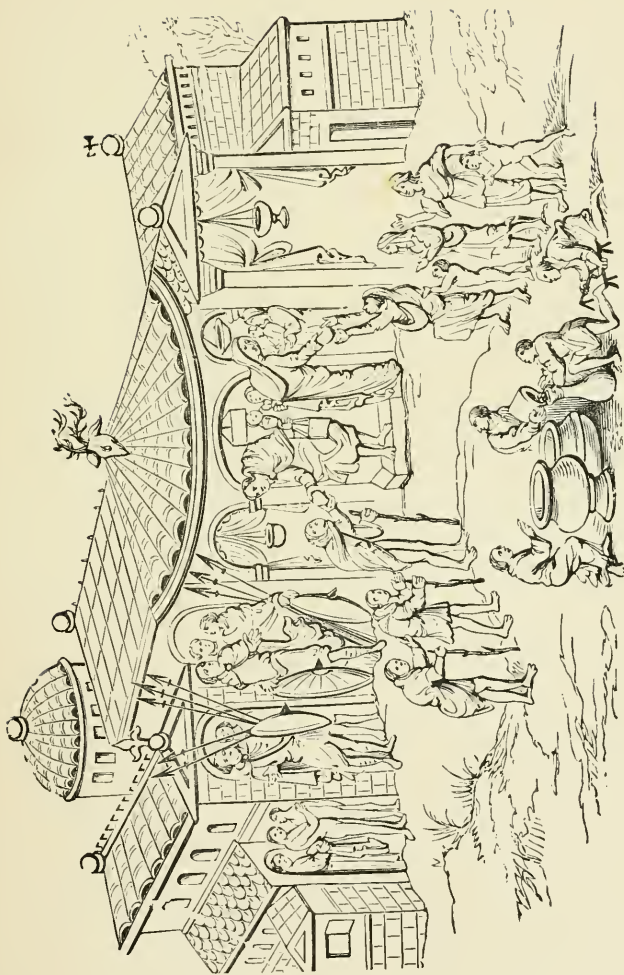
"The Early English society," says Grant Allen, "was founded entirely on the tie of blood. Every class or family lived by itself, and formed a guild for mutual protection, each kinsman being his brother's keeper, and bound to avenge his death by feud with the tribe or clan who had killed him. This duty of blood-revenge was the supreme religion of the race. Moreover, the clan was answerable as a whole for the ill-deeds of all its members; and the fine payable for murder or injury was handed over by the wrong-doer to the family of the injured man." In this village clan-ship we have the root and origin of much that is now characteristic of us as a people, notably of that independence of and isolation from others, which is at once our boast and our bane. Each village lived separate from and independent of

the rest, surrounded in many cases by forest, and consisted of a group of wooden huts, among which was conspicuous the hall of the chief. At their assemblies every head of a family had a right to appear and deliberate. Yet there were distinctions of rank. It is not easy to set down these distinctions with certainty, but they have been divided into three classes, the *æthelings*, or chieftains, the *freolings*, or freemen, and the *theows*, or slaves. When not occupied in the pursuits of husbandry or in the chase they were cattle-lifters or pirates, save and except when the ale-feast was held, for which, together with its accompanying amusements of music and dancing, they had a great liking.

Such as they were in their homes in North Holland and Sleswick, such were they here in Britain. They came over, we must remember, as settlers. It is a mistake to suppose that they came merely to plunder. That had been the work of earlier times, but now, when the Roman troops had been withdrawn from the country, owing to the decay of the Roman power, the age of settlement begins. Probably the Jutes came to Kent as allies, in the first instance, of the Britons to help them against the Picts. But

very soon the friends became foes. The land was not able to bear the numbers who poured in, so inch by inch—for the struggle was a most determined one—the Britons were driven westward. The Jutes and the Saxons came in large bodies, but the Angles, it would appear, came *en masse*, and there was nothing for it but that the Briton should retreat.

This accounts for the fact that the Anglo-Saxons retained here, or rather transplanted to this land, the habits and customs of their former life. There was no amalgamation with the Briton, nothing to tone down or to change their social peculiarities. Under the Roman rule the country had become highly civilized, but the new-comers made short work of the evidences of civilization. "They let the roads and cities (they had no towns in their fatherland) fall into utter disrepair. They stamped out Christianity with fire and sword from end to end of their new domain. They occupied a civilized and Christian land, and they restored it to its primitive barbarism." They wanted villages such as they had had before, so they got rid of the stone houses of the Romans by fire, and in their place substituted their "groups of wooden homesteads,



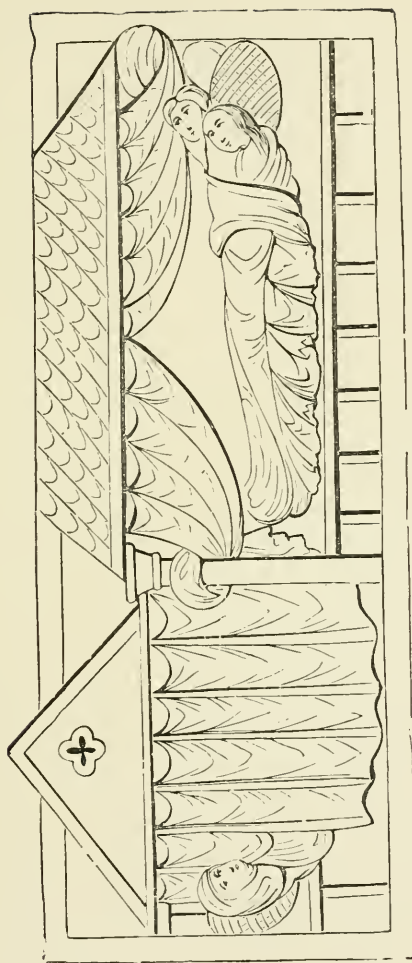
ANGLO-SAXON MANSION.

with barns and cattle-sheds, surrounded by rough stockades, and destitute of roads."

Let us pause for a moment to look at the buildings in which these forefathers of ours dwelt.

The classes of men whom we have to consider here were but two, the *eorlas*, or nobles, and the *ceorlas*, churls, or freemen. For, taking the country at a glance, we see it, after the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons, dotted over with manors interspersed among the woodland and forest which covered half the surface, these manors having each the timber-built hall of the lord surrounded by the huts of the churls. What the house of the noble was we learn from the poem of *Beowulf*, for though it relates the life of Goths and Danes, it gives us the information we seek about Angles and Saxons. One large, long room formed the family-room, the eating-room, and the sleeping-room. The sleeping berths were against the walls; they were benches, used by day as shelves. In the middle of the hall was a long hearth piled with burning fuel, giving light as well as heat, and the smoke making its escape at last as best it could from a hole in the roof. On each side were tables with benches on the side of them next the wall, and stools on the side

next the fire. On a dais at the head of the room was a cross-table for the chief and his noble friends, and behind this was the gift-stool, from which each member of a band sent out to plunder received his portion of the spoils. Such was the hall of the chief; the abodes of the rest were miserable hovels. After the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, their homes began to show various signs of improvement, introduced no doubt by the ecclesiastics. But how cheerless and uncomfortable they would appear to us is shown by the conversation which Bede relates between King Edwin and his chieftains:—"The present life of man, O King," says one of them, "seems, in comparison to that time which is unknown, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the hall when you sit at your supper in winter with your chiefs, warmed by a good fire in the midst, while storms of rain and snow prevail abroad. The sparrow, I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out at another, whilst it is visible is safe from the storm, but after a short space he vanishes out of sight into the dark winter from which he had emerged." And the old tale about King Alfred's invention of the lantern to protect his candles from the violence of



ANLO-SAXON BEDS.

the draughts, shows that royalty itself was not then so well housed as a cottager is now. It was only in the hall that a fire could be had, but the other rooms were to some extent decorated and made comfortable in the houses of the very wealthy by the use of tapestry, or, as the Saxons in their homely fashion phrased it, "wall-clothes." Cooking was done out of doors, and "old illuminations represent the kitchen-lads attending to their duties around enormous fires, boiling entire oxen and swine in huge caldrons, and surrounded by such indications as show that it was customary to carry on these operations in the courtyard of the mansion or outside the castle walls."

In time of peace the garb of both noble and freeman was a smock-frock, very like that used at the present day in many parts of England. This came down to the knees, and varied in texture and colour for different classes of society. The noble was distinguished from the ceorl by his embroidered belt and golden sword-hilt. Feet and legs were wrapped in linen bands, cross-gartered and party-coloured, as high as the knees; a hood sheltered the head in winter, and the wealthier sort had a short coat of blue cloth (often fancifully embroidered, and fastened at the

shoulder with a costly buckle) thrown over the frock for warmth or ornament. Tattooing, it will be learnt by many with surprise, was practised by the English chieftains even up to A.D. 700.

Passing to the domestic relations of the people, we deal first of course with that of husband and wife. "Other relationships influence, but this dominates the house." "It has been repeatedly asserted," says Mr. Thrupp, "that while the founders of Rome treated women as household goods, and the accomplished children of the Caliphs looked on them as mere instruments of pleasure, while the polished Athenian valued them as domestic drudges, 'who should lay out money with economy,' the barbarous Anglo-Saxon loved and revered the sex," so much so that, to use the words of Sharon Turner, "their persons, their safety, and their property were protected by express laws, and they possessed all that sweet influence which, while the human heart is responsive to the touch of love, they will ever retain in those countries which have the wisdom and urbanity to treat them as equal, intelligent, and independent beings." In contradiction to this, Mr. Thrupp says of them that they were "at one time sold by their fathers, and

always beaten by their husbands; were menial servants, even when of royal rank; were habitually subject to coarse personal insult, and never addressed, even in poetry, in the language of passion or respect." I fear we must endorse Mr. Thrupp's verdict. To begin with, a maiden was not wooed, but won. When the young men of a tribe wanted wives, they invaded the territory of some neighbouring tribe which possessed a stock of marriageable young women. Choosing a time when the men of that tribe were away, engaged in war or piracy or some distant occupation, they seized by force the fair ones they desired, and carried them off. It is readily seen that this would lead to commotions, and by-and-by the law was made that before recourse was had to violence, the hand of the maiden should be demanded of her father. If he gave her up, well and good; but if he refused to do so, then it became a question of might *versus* right, and his house might be broken into, and a brother or two slain, and the maiden herself taken away after all, legitimately won. In time a more peaceful solution of the difficulty was found. Why should not the father, instead of having so much trouble and risk with his daughters, contrive to get rid

of them not only without risk of hurt and danger to himself and others, but even with advantage to himself? So he sold them. When the Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity, this state of things was gradually changed. "At first both State and Church required the daughter to accept without question or comment whomsoever her father pleased." But this could hardly be expected to continue, and at length English women acquired the right of disposing of themselves in marriage. It is not easy, however, to deal with the subject of marriage among the Anglo-Saxons. We know little of the customs regulating it prior to their conversion to Christianity, and after that took place there were constant contests between the clergy, who claimed the exclusive power to determine them, and those who wished to have marriage looked upon only as being what it had been before, a civil contract. At first there were hardly any restrictions to a man marrying whom he would; it was a common custom to marry a step-mother, and the deceased wife's sister difficulty was unknown. When the people became Christian these marriages and others of the same kind, *e.g.*, with a nephew's or an uncle's widow were of

course forbidden. But the clergy were not content with prohibitions based on matrimonial affinity. They said that as a man might not marry his natural mother, *a fortiori* he ought not to marry his spiritual mother, or god-parent, and at last they went so far as to forbid a man to marry any of those to whom he was *spiritually* related within the prohibited degrees of carnal consanguinity. All this led, as we might naturally expect, to a great amount of both immorality and unhappiness, and to a contempt of the authors of these unreasonable restrictions.

We must not forget to notice engagements, or, as they were subsequently called, espousals. These were the preliminary marriage ceremonies. It was absolutely necessary that they should be made publicly, in the presence of friends of both parties as witnesses. First came a statement on the part of the man, the woman, and the woman's friends, that they were all consenting parties. Then the bridegroom promised to treat his betrothed well, "according to God's law and the custom of society," and gave a "wed," or pledge, that he would do this. He then stated the amount he would give as "foster-lean" (*i.e.*, compensation to the father for the trouble and

expense to which he had been put in bringing up his child), the morning gift (which I will explain presently), and the provision he would make for his wife in case she survived him. Then came the hand-fasting, each taking the other by the hand, and declaring their consent to be husband and wife, after which the bridegroom gave something, an ox, or a saddled horse, or a ring, or it might be only a kiss, to bind the bargain. Children might be espoused by their parents at seven years of age ; they were at liberty, however, if so minded, to terminate the engagement when they arrived at the age of ten ; if they did so when between ten and twelve the parents (not the child) were liable to punishment, but if after twelve years of age a child renounced his or her engagement, then both he or she and the parents were so liable.

From the espousals, which were not an absolute preliminary, and would probably be dispensed with in the case of the poor, we pass to the marriage itself. This ceremony differed but slightly from the other. There were no marriage rites, of course, when women were captured and married by force, and when they were acquired by purchase, the ceremony was of the simplest,

and would seem to have been nothing more than the hand-fasting, and the giving away of the bride to her husband. This latter was not the form which has come down to our own days, but a taking her by the neck and shoulders, and placing her in the bridegroom's arms. Other customs appertained to marriage which ought to be mentioned. There was an ancient one in accordance with which an unmarried girl wore her hair long and loose, being permitted after a time to plait it (for the sake of cleanliness), but never to bind or braid it round her head. On her wedding-day she undid the plaits. At first, on her marriage, her hair was cut short, to show that she had accepted a position of servitude, but afterwards a bride was freed from this unpalatable necessity. The authority of the father over his daughter ceasing upon her marriage, it was transferred to her husband by the father taking one of her shoes and giving it to the bridegroom, who thereupon struck her or touched her on the head with it. The marriage ceremony was gone through at the house of the bride's or bridegroom's parents (it was not until A.D. 1199 that marriages took place in churches), and after it the bride was conducted in procession to her

future home (this was often taken occasion of for very rude and boisterous joking), and the whole affair ended with a jovial feast, so dear to the Anglo-Saxon heart. This feast lasted three days at the least, and was the occasion of much drunkenness. On the morning after the wedding, the husband presented his wife with the morning-gift, which in the course of time rose from a trifling present to a large and often magnificent one. This morning-gift really made the marriage binding upon the husband ; after he had given it he might not return his wife to her parents, as otherwise he had a right to do. On receipt of it the bride rose and dressed her hair and bound it round her head, having acquired the full rights of a married woman. Let us see what those rights were. In the earliest days, queens and princesses waited at table on their husbands. In those marauding times, when the ordinary occupation of a gentleman was thieving, a wife incurred serious responsibility if a stolen article was found in the house. She might plead that she knew nothing about it, but this availed nothing. If the rightful owner appeared with sufficient power to wreak vengeance, the punishment for both husband and wife was the being

liable to be sold into slavery. This led to a law being made by which a married woman acquired a right to a store-room, a chest, and a cupboard of her own, with her own keys, free from her husband's control, and then, unless stolen goods were found in her own lock-ups, she was not to be held liable for the theft. On the other hand, her husband might then put in the house what he liked, and she could not demur to his doing so. During the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period, and indeed long afterwards, it was the husband's right, and not only right, but duty, to bestow upon his wife "moderate castigation." What was considered "moderate" castigation we do not know, but the old Welsh law gives as a proper allowance three blows with a broomstick on any part of the person except the head, the stick not to exceed the length of his arm or the thickness of his middle finger; and a Continental law says that if a husband uses nothing heavier than a stick or a birch broom he does not disturb the peace of the family. Perhaps, after learning this, our notions of the chivalry of the Anglo-Saxons will be somewhat modified.

We come now to consider the relations of parent and child. The first question that arose

on the occasion of a child being born was, should he be allowed to live, or be put to death? Infanticide was very common. By and by, as this barbarous custom relaxed, it was thought right to give the child a chance. So he was not put to death, but exposed in the woods or fields. Later on, he was allowed to determine for himself how it should be with him; he was placed in some dangerous position, and if he then laughed or crowed he was taken and reared, otherwise he was thrust out to perish. When the people became Christian these customs were, of course, forbidden; but I question whether our forefathers did not discontinue them because they found it to their advantage, as they gradually brought the land under cultivation, to avail themselves of the children's labour.

When it had been decided that the child should be allowed to live, the next thing was to protect it from evil spirits. The modes of doing this have not (with a couple of exceptions) come down to us. When the people were converted to Christianity it might have been expected that these superstitions would be abandoned. They seem, however, only to have adopted baptism in their stead, regarding it rather as a species of

incantation than as a sacrament. Of course children then received their names, and we must not omit to notice that in this, at any rate, our forefathers surpassed us, that they chose names not at haphazard, but with a meaning in them.

The clergy were then, as they have always been, the promoters of education, but we can hardly wonder if in those rude times the educational methods pursued were not always of the best. They told a child to learn, and if he did not they beat him. Alcuin, speaking generally, says, "It is the scourge that teaches children the ornaments of wisdom." "The Anglo-Saxons believed not only that flogging stimulated industry, but that it had a specific action on the memory, such as particular drugs are known to have on certain organs of the human frame. If it were wished to impress any fact on a child's memory it was told to him, and he was then well beaten, that on any occasion on which he was beaten afterwards it might by the association of ideas recur to his mind."

Reading and writing were not ordinary subjects of instruction, owing to the want of books and materials. Verbal instruction and constant catechising were necessarily the means most to be

relied on. Arithmetic was taught by means of problems, some of which were easy, while others might well exercise the brain-power of those who in this day look with contempt upon our forefathers' ignorance. Here is an easy one. An old man met a boy. "Good-day, my son," said he; "may you live as long as you have lived, and as much more, and thrice as much as all this, and if God give you one year in addition to the others, you will be just a century old": what was the child's age? But what of this? A man had three daughters of different ages, to whom he delivered certain apples to sell; and he gave to the eldest fifty apples, to the second twenty, and to the third ten, and all these three sold a like number for a penny, and brought home the same amount of money: how many did each of them sell for a penny? Anglo-Saxon education, indeed, did not so much aim at supplying the memory with facts as at rendering the intellect acute; and one of the most important functions it performed was that of instructing the pupil in colloquial Latin, enabling him to make himself understood when he went on a foreign pilgrimage, and to converse with the learned of other lands.

When did a child come of age and attain to

man's estate ? The question admits of no precise answer ; the age varied. He became, however, entitled to the possession of his property at ten, though he could not deal with it until he was fifteen. Not being at first recognized by law as a member of the community, he was not held responsible for any offence he might commit. It was only gradually, and that by the influence of the clergy, that this very inconvenient law was altered. On the other hand, the father had the power, subject to restrictions, of selling his child. These restrictions were being constantly added to ; amongst them being some which related to the treatment by others of a child on account of the father's ill-deeds, and the liability of the father for the child's crimes, so that at the time of the Norman Conquest the child, though still occupying a position of extreme dependence and subjection, was no longer accounted a chattel or slave.

I have already mentioned the nobles, the freemen, and the slaves. Let us look at their condition, in inverse order. The words "freeman" and "slave" are not to be understood, when applied to the Anglo-Saxons, in the senses commonly applied to them now. The majority of the slaves were comparatively independent,

while of the freemen many were not what we should now call free. The slaves were not all slaves of the same sort. There was the slave pure and simple, the theow, and the esne, who wrought for hire, and the wite-theow, who had become a slave owing to inability to pay his debts. From the earliest times there would seem to have been a class of slaves who were camp-followers, and when it happened that their masters were overcome in the wars and slain, these were not put to death, but simply passed on to be the goods of other masters. We are dealing, however, not with the modes in which men became slaves, but with their social position. They were goods and chattels, and this being so, they were in their master's power, for him to do with much as he pleased. If he killed one of his own slaves he was a chattel the less ; if he killed another man's slave he must then make to that other compensation. At one time there was a large traffic in slaves with foreign countries, which the clergy and the kings tried to put down, but not with the success they desired. Nevertheless, slavery was to a great extent mitigated, and many slaves were set free, especially by the kings and clergy. One of the earliest sources of its

limitation was the observance of the Lord's Day, for on that day a master could not compel a slave to work, under the penalty at first of forfeiting him to the king or reeve, and afterwards of giving him his freedom. The kings, again, were desirous to set the slaves free for the reason that a freeman was bound to carry arms and aid in the defence of the country, which a slave might not do; and in addition to this the more important towns insisted that no man who had lived in them for a year and a day should be questioned as to his citizenship, and if a slave had lived so long among them he should be deemed to be a freeman. Lastly, the practice grew of the slave purchasing his own freedom, for, strange to say, a master could not claim all a slave's earnings. There were other days besides the Sundays on which he could not compel his slaves to work, and while a slave might not work on the Sundays under penalty of the neck-catch, on these days he might work for himself and retain what he earned. There was then, if not a regular, yet on the whole a real, amelioration of the slaves' condition among the Anglo-Saxons, and it shared in that progress and improvement of which I have spoken as taking

place in the general social condition of the people.

The freemen it is almost impossible to speak of within the limits allowed me, and to do so would belong to the elucidation of the political rather than the social relations of the people. Indeed the same may be said of the nobles, so that we may pass them over with very few remarks. There were freemen and freemen. Some had lands and some had none. Those who had none, however high might be their birth, were bound to put themselves under the protection of a landed man, whom the State might hold responsible for his acts. A matter must be mentioned which belongs strictly to the subject we are considering, the social relations of the people. It was the recognized mark of the noble and the free to wear the hair long, whereas in the case of the slave it must be close-cropped. Beards and moustaches were in like manner highly prized, and sometimes worn of immense size. There is considerable doubt as to the relation of the freeman to the noble. The notion that originally the freeman had his share of the common land, and that he gradually degenerated into the serf tilling his lord's land, rising again in process of time to

be a leaseholder or copyholder, is strongly combated by Mr. Siebohm. He regards the freeman as rising gradually out of the serf, bound to give whatever services his lord demanded, into the villein, who was bound to render such and such customary services, and thence again into the free cultivator at a fixed money rent.

I have spoken of the Anglo-Saxons as hard drinkers. Their notions of hospitality were not friendly to sobriety. It was held to be the duty of a host to offer liquor to every guest, and to make him drunk if possible. "It was not till towards the end of the seventh, or beginning of the eighth century, that efforts were made to check universal intoxication, and the honour of the initiative belongs to Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Egbert, Archbishop of York." To see how great that honour is we have only to look at their edicts, and to mark how they had to deal not only with the laity, but with the clergy also, including bishops. Notwithstanding their efforts the vice continued, as subsequent legislation proves. One curious custom must be noticed, which was introduced (it is said, by St. Dunstan) with a view to checking immoderate drinking. When each man had his own glass it was easy to

see that no man drank more than his share, for everyone drank glass for glass; there were no heel-taps, the glasses being either pointed or circular at the bottom, so that they could not be made to stand on the table. But when a tankard went round the case was different, so pegs were placed on the inside of it at equal distances, that each might know how far he drank. If, however, a man could not measure his draughts, but drank below his peg, he might then be called on to drink to the next, and in this way he might even empty the tankard, so that it is a matter of some doubt as to whether drinking to pegs, as it was called, was conducive to sobriety. Anyhow, after Dunstan's time drinking habits still continued to prevail, and over and over again proved the bane of society.

Their potations, however, were accompanied with amusements, chief among these being singing and playing on the harp, for they were passionately fond of music. Every noble child was taught the harp; "at the conclusion of a feast the harp was passed round, and every guest was required to sing or to leave the table." Many adopted music as a profession, and became glee-men. Their influence was great, but they

gradually lost it, and became altogether contemptible. But what did the Anglo-Saxons drink, and what did they eat? There were some vineyards in the country in those days, and wine was made from them, but wine was never common among the Anglo-Saxons. They drank ale, bright ale, mild ale, smooth ale, and beer. Bread formed the staple of their food; the chief-tain's wife was his lady, hlaf-dige, or distributor of bread. Their favourite sport of hunting (chiefly on foot) provided them with meat of various kinds, but bacon,



ANGLO-SAXON MINSTRELS AND GLEEMAN.

derived from the droves of swine nourished in the extensive beech and oak forests, was the most abundant. Very great, too, was the consumption of fish, especially eels. The rent of mills was frequently paid in these, and we are told that one

abbey (that of St. John of Beverley) received annually from a single tenant no less than seven thousand eels.

The last customs with which we have to deal are those of burial. As soon as a person died the body was laid out, with the feet to the east and the head to the west. During the time



ANGLO-SAXONS AT DINNER.

it remained unburied the relations and friends came together and watched, or waked, over it, and the occasion was made one of feasting and drinking. The dead body was clothed in the full dress of the living, the man in his armour, and the woman decked with jewelry and ornaments. In the great number of cases no coffin was used,

and in the districts occupied by the Angles cremation seems to have been common.

We have now seen something of the social life of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. I have dealt with the subject very imperfectly, but in mitigation of the sentence my readers may feel constrained to pass upon me must plead its difficulty. We are by no means certain in all cases that things were exactly as we conceive them to have been, and customs and social relations, as I said (quoting Mr. Thrupp) at the beginning, varied much, and the long period from the coming into Britain of the Jutes and Angles and Saxons was one of progress. It was often irregular, yet it is clearly to be discerned. Is not this so still? To what then is progress due? and how is it to be maintained? I shall not attempt now an answer to these questions, though I hold the answer to be plain. All I will say is, that to him who will seek it aright there is guidance to be found for the present in the history of the past.

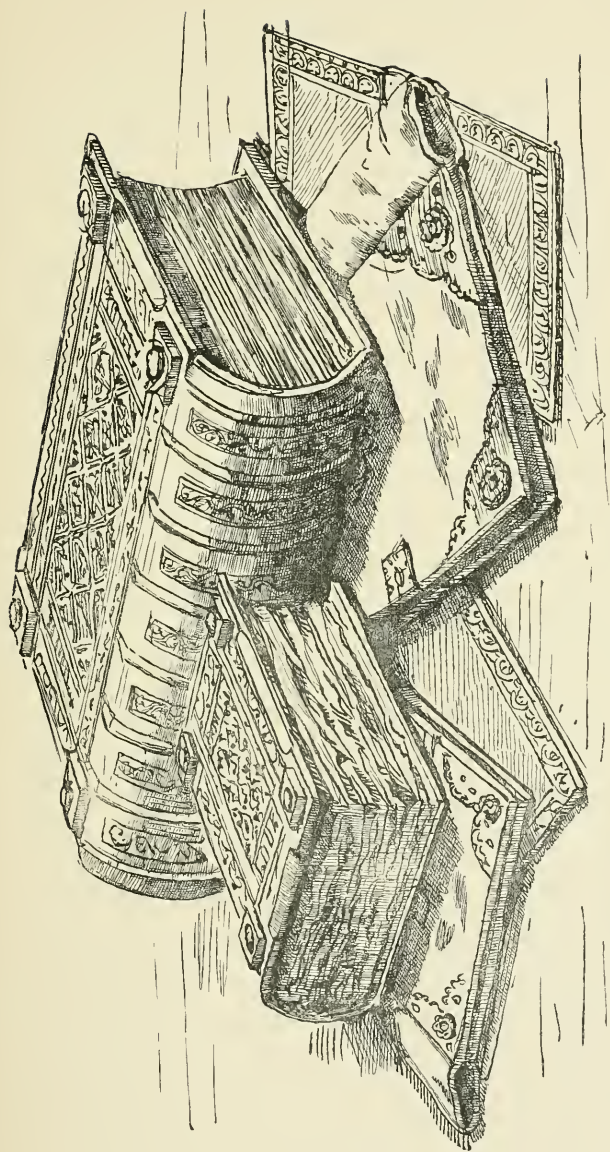
J. H. STANNING.

An Old-Time Survey of England.

DOMESDAY BOOK is often mentioned, but we are disposed to believe that few have a knowledge of its important and varied contents. It supplies an interesting general survey of the country in the days of our first Norman king.

The exact year when the work was commenced is a disputed point. According to one writer it was in 1080, but this statement appears to have been derived from an erroneous quotation in the Red Book of the Exchequer. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives 1085 for its commencement, and its completion in the following year.

The information collected was entered in two books of different sizes, one being a folio, and the other a quarto, with vellum leaves. The penmanship is beautifully and clearly written. In the larger volume are 382 double pages, written in small characters, and embracing thirty-one counties, commencing with Kent and closing with Lincolnshire. The smaller book contains 450 double pages, the penmanship is in larger characters, and only Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk



DOMESDAY BOOK.

are noticed. The counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham were not included in either book. The latter county was under the rule of the Bishop of Durham, and the other three, it is generally supposed, were so devastated that they were purposely omitted.

Rex tenet in dñio Stochæ. De firma regis. E. fuit. Tē se defendit
 p̄ xvij hid. Nichil geldaverunt. Terra ē. xvi. car. In dñio sunt
 ii. car. 7. xxiv. villi 7. x. bordi cū xx. car. Ibi ecclesia. q. Will-
 tenet de rege cū dimid. hida in elemosina. Ibi v. servi. 7. ii. mo-
 lina de xxv sol. 7. xvi. ac. prati. Silva. xl. porc. & ipsa ē
 in parco regis.
 T. R. E. 7. post. valebat. xij. lib. Modo. xv. lib. Tamen qui tenet
 reddit. xv. lib. ad pensum. Vicecomes. h̄t. xxv. solid.

SPECIMEN OF WRITING IN DOMESDAY BOOK.

The reading, freed from contractions, runs as follows :—

Rex tenet in dominio Stochæ. De firma regis Edwardi fuit. Tunc se defendebat pro xvij hidis. Nichil geldaverunt. Terra est xvj caructæ. In dominio sunt ij caructæ & xxiv villani & x bordarij cum xx carucatis. Ibi ecclesia quam Willelmus tenet de rege cum dimidia hida in elemosina. Ibi v servi & ii molini de xxv sol. & xvi acræ prati. Silva xl porcorum & ipsa est in parco regis.

Tempore Regis Edwardi & post valebat xij lib. Modo xv lib. Tamen qui tenet reddit xv lib. ad pensum. Vicecomes habet xxv solid.

The entire work is now known as Domesday Book, but in former times was designated by other titles. At one time it was deposited in the Royal Treasury in the city of Winchester, and on this account was called the *Liber de Wintonæ*, or Book of Winchester, and sometimes *Rotulus Wintoniæ*, or Roll of Winchester. Another title was *Liber Regis*, or the King's Book; another regal designation was the *Scriptura Thesauri Regis*, or Record of the King's Treasury. It was carefully guarded with three locks and keys, and with it was kept the King's seal. It was sometimes named *Liber Censualis Angliæ*, or Rate-book of England. Respecting the origin of the title of Domesday Book, Dr. E. Codham Brewer observes, "Stow says the book was so called because it was deposited in the part of Winchester Cathedral called *Domus-dei*, and that the word is a contraction of *Domus-dei-book*; more likely it is connected with the previous surveys made by Saxon kings, and called dom-bocs (*libri judiciæ lës*), because every case of dispute was decided by an appeal to these registers." Ingulphus states the book was so called because it was as general and conclusive as the last judgment will be.

The year 1085 was one fraught with considerable anxiety to the English monarch. He was threatened with an invasion from Denmark and Flanders, and extensive preparations were made for the defence of the country. The King directed that all land lying near the sea-shore was to be laid waste. A large army was raised, the largest ever formed up to this time in the country. It is stated by a contemporary writer in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that the King billeted the soldiers upon his subjects, every man according to the land he held. The same author records the visit of the King to Gloucester in mid-winter, and narrates that "he had great consultation, and spoke very deeply with his Witan [*i.e.*, great council of Parliament] concerning this land, how it was held, and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men all over England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hydes of land it contained, and what lands the King had in it, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much revenue he ought to get yearly from each. He also caused them to write down how much land belonged to the archbishops, to his bishops, his abbots, and his earls, and—that

I may be brief—what property every inhabitant of all England possessed in land or in cattle, and how much money this was worth. So very strictly did he cause the survey to be made, that there was not a single hyde, nor a yard land of ground, nor—it is shameful to say what he thought no shame to do—was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by, that was not set down in the accounts, and then all these writings were brought to him.” The chief men engaged in this undertaking were called King’s Justiciaries, and they had the assistance of the leading men in all parts of the country. The facts collected were forwarded to a board sitting at Winchester for consideration and arrangement.

The Domesday Book a great writer calls “the most precious document of English history.” In it we find glimpses of life under our first Norman king. Much information is given respecting high personages, such as the Norman barons and Saxon thanes, and the services they had to render to the Crown. The regal officials were numerous, embracing many occupations representing war and pleasure. We find bow-keepers and standard-bearers, hawk-keepers and providers of carriages. Law men and mediciners are

mentioned. Forests, foresters, and hunters receive attention. Forest-law brought much misery to the people of England, and old writers give pathetic pictures of the sufferings of the poor. On this subject, says Ordericus Vitalis, in his account of the death of Richard, William's second son: "Learn now, my reader, why the forest in which the young prince was slain received the name of the New Forest. That point of the country was extremely populous from early times, and full of well-inhabited hamlets and farms. A numerous population cultivated Hampshire with unceasing industry, so that the southern part of the district plentifully supplied Winchester with the products of the land. When William I. ascended the throne of Albion, being a great lover of forests, he laid waste more than sixty parishes, compelling the inhabitants to emigrate to other places, and substituted beasts of the chase for human beings, that he might satisfy his ardour for hunting." Of William's interest in deer, says the Saxon Chronicle, he "so much loved the high deer as if he had been their father."

The facts about the country supply interesting particulars of the employment pursued by the

people at the period of the survey. We find mention of ploughmen, shepherds, neatherds, goatherds, and swineherds. Items like the following frequently occur: "A wood for pannage of fifty hogs." Charles Knight, writing on this theme, says: "There are woods described which will feed a hundred, two hundred, three hundred hogs, and on the Bishop of London's demesne at Fulham, a thousand hogs could fatten. The value of a tree was determined by the number of hogs that could lie under it in the Saxon time, and in the survey of the Norman period, we find entries of useless woods, and woods without pannage, which to some extent were considered indential. In some of the woods there were patches of cultivated ground, as the entries show, where the tenant had cleared the dense undergrowth, and had his corn land and his meadows. Even the fen lands were of value, for their rents were paid in eels."

We find traces of thirty-eight vineyards in southern and eastern counties. The records of gardens are numerous. Saltworks are enumerated under the name of "wiches," and from this designation are derived the names of Northwich,

Middlewich, Nantwich, and other Cheshire towns and villages; also Droitwich, in Worcestershire. Leadworks are only mentioned in the county of Derby. Tin is not named in Cornwall; the continued wars after Roman times had destroyed this important industry. Iron forges are mentioned, and records of payments of rent in lumps of hammered iron occur. Mention of fisheries is somewhat frequent. "Payment of eels," says Mr. Knight, "are enumerated by hundreds of thousands. Herrings appear to have been consumed in vast numbers in the monasteries. Sandwich yielded forty thousand annually to Christ Church, Canterbury. Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk appear to have been great seats of fishery. The Severn and the Wye had their salmon fisheries, whose produce king and bishop were glad to receive as rent."

The notices of towns present much curious and interesting matter. At Hereford were seven coiners, who were compelled to coin as much silver into pence as the King demanded. Leicester had to find the King a hawk, or pay ten pounds. The burgesses of Cambridge had to lend the Sheriff their ploughs. At Chester a fraudulent female brewer of adulterated beer

was placed on the cucking-stool. We find the toll in the market-place of Lewes was, for the sale of an ox, one penny, and for that of a slave, fourpence. Prior to the Conquest, many slaves were exported to Ireland and Scotland, but William sternly repressed the practice.

Taxes were levied according to Domesday Survey until 1522, when another survey was taken. In 1872, the Government ordered a return of all landowners in England and Wales, and the work was performed by the Local Government Board. The return has been called the New Domesday Book.

William's Domesday Book was formerly kept at the Chapter-house, Westminster, but is now preserved in the Public Record Office.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

Castle Building.

“ Hang out our banners on the outward walls,
The cry is still *They come* ; our castle’s strength
Will laugh a siege to scorn.”

—*Macbeth*, Act V., Scene 5.

N EARLY all our most important English castles, in some form or other, date from a period of remote antiquity ; their associations were indeed of slow growth, and have become deeply rooted in many centuries of our great national history. Most of the castles were in the first instance the centres of estates, and were established for the protection of such estates in a period when “*might was right*,” and only the strongest could hold their own.

The great characteristic of an old castle is the mighty earthwork. This earthwork was the most important factor of defence in the early days of military architecture, and, doubtless, the castles erected thereon in the Roman period were of a very rude character, and insignificant to those which supplanted them, often on the same site, after the Norman Conquest.

It is probable that the Saxons adapted the Roman castles to a certain extent to their modes

of defence. One very frequent change consisted in raising a mound of earth on one side of the walls, on which the keep or citadel was erected. In other ways, too, the Roman castles were altered to the requirements of the age, but none of these buildings, except small fragments of walls, are now existing, and our present military architecture may be said to date from the Norman Conquest. It has often been asserted that the rapidity of William's Conquest was due in a great measure to the absence of strong places in England. There is, however, ground for believing that England was in this respect quite as well provided as Normandy. The plan there at this period seems to have been practically the same as in this country, and consisted for the most part of a moated mound with an appended court also moated. This was a very simple, and at the same time effective, mode of defence, and appears to have been in use amongst most of the northern nations. It was not until the eleventh century that the more permanent description of fortress took the place of the old-fashioned structures, which were composed mostly of timber, and were found utterly inadequate to the requirements of a military age.

The close of the eleventh century may practically be said to have given birth to our great castles as now existing. Few castles were designed simply for residence, most of them combined a strong element of defence. The Norman castle, as originally erected, must have appeared in those days an awe-inspiring building. The kindly touch of centuries has toned down a good deal of the original severity of outline, and the grim fortresses we now look upon have lost their terror.

“ . . . Time
Has moulder'd into beauty many a tower,
Which, when it frown'd with all its battlements,
Was only terrible . . . ”

—MASON.

It is evident that William and his barons employed two classes of castles, one always and entirely in masonry, and one very frequently of timber. When a castle was built in a new position, as in London, or where there was no natural or artificial mound, then masonry was employed. Where an earthwork or mound existed then they appear to have altered and repaired the existing works, and with timber only, the rebuilding being left for a more convenient

period—probably often for a century or even longer.

The Norman castle was generally surrounded by a deep moat or ditch; and in order that the ditch might be easily filled with water, the site chosen was generally either on the banks of a river, or on a piece of land jutting out into a lake. In the latter case the ditch was, of course, merely a deep cut made through the neck of the land, and by this means the castle and its surroundings were converted into an island. On the inner side of the ditch mounds were constructed, which were surmounted with walls and towers, both of which, but more particularly the latter, were supplied with battlements and bastions. The entrance gates were also protected with towers, and these were usually of great strength. The communication was by a drawbridge, sometimes of stone, but more generally of wood, and this bridge was made to draw up and down; and the entrance, in addition to thick folding doors, was further protected by a portecullis, which was dropped down through the grooves in the masonry at the sides. The drawbridge was a very important feature in the defence of a castle. In its most simple form it was a platform of timber

turning upon two gudgeons at the inner end ; when up, it concealed the portal, and when down dropped upon a pier in the ditch. The contrivances for working it were various. Sometimes chains attached to its outer end passed through holes above the portal, and were worked from within by hand. The portcullis was also an important part of the defence. It was a strong grating of iron with spikes, and suspended in grooves by two cords or chains ; by this means it was made to slide up and down in the grooves formed for the purpose in each jamb, and was usually kept suspended above the gateway, but was let down whenever an attack was apprehended. The gateway in castles of the larger sort was further protected by a barbican. This barbican was an advanced work, sometimes of timber, but more generally of stone, running out for a short distance from the main walls, and serving the purpose of a watch-tower.

“By narrow drawbridge, outworks strong,
Through studded gates, an entrance long,
To the main court they cross.”

—“Marmion.” SCOTT.

So much for the external part of a Norman castle. On passing through the gates, admission

was gained to the bailey. The bailey consisted of the courts or wards of the castle formed by the spaces between the circuits of walls or defences which surrounded the keep. The barracks, magazines, well, a chapel, and sometimes even a monastery were contained within the bailey; indeed, the only part of a castle which was always spoken of as distinguished from the bailey was the keep, which corresponded to the prætorium of the Roman fortification.

The keep was a species of internal castle, more strongly defended than any other part, and placed in the most advantageous position, so as to afford a last chance to the garrison when driven from the external works. The keep had the same design as the castle, and contained most of its appliances, even to a chapel, when large and complete. The keep at Rochester Castle is perhaps one of the finest examples we have remaining.

In the Norman castles there was generally in or near the keep a pit like a well, in which prisoners were sometimes confined. One of these is still to be seen at Berkeley Castle, outside the keep, and there is said to be one at Conisborough. In later times the prisons seem to have been

much like common rooms, but always probably in the basement of the building. Some remains of the Abbot's prison at Fountain's Abbey are still to be seen.

“Now taken is Roberd and brought vnto prison,
At Corne his kastelle sperd depe in a dongeon.”

—*Langtoft Chron*: ED. HEARNE, p. 101.

The protection which the castle walls afforded to the retainers of a baron, in a state of society in which life and property were extremely insecure, naturally led to the construction of houses around the moat, and to this custom a very large number of the towns, both in England and on the Continent, owe their origin.

There is no doubt the Conqueror had many castles at his command, but a great number of those remaining, and exhibiting the Norman style of architecture, belong, some to the close of the eleventh, and a greater number to the twelfth century. But if William did not actually build so many castles, he and his followers certainly restored and occupied an immense number, upon which those who came immediately after him built structures, the ruins of which we now see.

“This lordly palace, where princes feasted and heroes
fought . . . is now desolate.”

—“Kenilworth,” Chap. xxv. SCOTT.

It appears to have been the Conqueror's first care on getting possession of a district to order the preparation of such strong places as might seem necessary for the holding of it. Where circumstances absolutely required it, an entirely new position was selected; but this was extremely rare, and most probably did not occur in more than half-a-dozen instances. It was generally found that the English lord had attached to his estate an earthwork, upon which he and his ancestors had probably lived for generations, covering several centuries of time: this earthwork was inseparably identified with the estate, and in consequence was regarded with great confidence and respect by all the surrounding tenantry. Even at this early period of history most of the leading positions in the country had been occupied; the detached hills; the spots rendered strong by cliffs or ravines; all of these the Conqueror found occupied on his coming to England.

When the new lords began to build castles of stone, they speedily became obnoxious, both to the King and the people. The owner of a strong castle was naturally always ready for rebellion, and very often was a tyrant, even to his own

people dependent on him. The old-fashioned castles formed of earth and timber, or at best of rude masonry, and which were half a mansion and half a fortress, were easily attacked and set on fire, and consequently under the Norman rule fell into disuse.

The Norman castle, properly speaking, was a purely military building. Its passive strength alone was great, and when the drawbridge was up and the gates closed, it was practically safe against the enemy. Fire, which was the ordinary ready weapon of the people, could do nothing against such walls, and the holders of the castle had little else to fear.

It seems strange that castles should not occupy a more prominent position in the Domesday Survey, considering that they formed such an important feature in the country, and were for the most part so closely attached to landed property. No great lord was without a castle upon his estate, and even a bishop was not secure of his personal safety unless so provided.

The reign of Henry I. was prolific in castles. A large number of our existing rectangular keeps are due to him. In this reign also most of the Welsh castles were completed, and a number of

new ones built. Of this period are the castles of Lincoln, Sleaford, and Newark. The workmanship at this time was very strong, and exceptionally good, the walls were far thicker and the whole construction was entirely different to a large number of the hasty structures which belong to the succeeding reign.

It is interesting to note that the issue of the contest between Matilda and Stephen turned to a great extent upon the castles which each had under their control. It was by the seizure of Winchester Castle and its treasure that Stephen was able to celebrate his coronation in the cathedral at Winchester. It was under the walls of Reading Castle, strongly placed between the meeting of the Kennet and the Thames, that Stephen trusted himself to meet the adherents of Matilda, and with them to lay the corpse of her father before the altar of the great and glorious abbey which he had founded. From Oxford, so strong in its walled city, it was that Stephen issued his first charter, so full of promises to his new subjects.

During the period of the war between Stephen, Matilda, and the Church party, were constructed the large number of unlicensed castles ("Castra

Adulterina"), which were employed not only for the security of the builders, but also to enable them to prey upon their neighbours with impunity. It would be difficult to imagine anything worse than the circumstances under which these castles were built, and the purposes for which they were employed; indeed many writers have described England at this time to have resembled Jerusalem during the Roman siege.

These castles appear to have been built with great rapidity, and with very little expenditure of labour upon the earthworks, for in the next reign they were destroyed easily, and now scarcely any of their sites can be recognised. Most likely they were the work of the lesser barons. This multiplication of castles without the license of the sovereign had a most demoralising influence upon the building of the period; the design and construction were poor, and the ultimate effect was the covering of the country with buildings unworthy of military and domestic architecture.

Henry II. was a great builder, and more especially of military works. He did not, however, build many new castles, but devoted himself to the completion or addition of new keeps to the old ones. In this reign the destruction of so

many of the smaller and later castles restored in a great measure to their former prominence those of older date and greater strength, and these being entrusted to castellans of approved fidelity, the standard of the architecture at this time was considerably raised.

Many castles were undoubtedly destroyed under the Convention of Wallingford, or during the reign of Henry II., but they seem to have been almost entirely the fortresses of recent date in private hands, and of only small importance as regards the general defence of the country.

In Sussex each rape had its castle, probably founded by the Jutish settlers. Of these under the Norman rule, Hastings, almost equal to Dover in its natural strength, was the head of the barony of the Earls of Eu; and we find it first mentioned in the Bayeux tapestry.

At the close of the twelfth century it appears that south of and upon the Thames and Bristol Avon, there stood at least eighty-nine castles of more or less considerable size, a large number of which were kept in repair by the sheriffs of the counties, and governed by castellans who were appointed by the King, and who held their office under him during his pleasure.

The principal castle-building period of English history may be said to end with the reign of Henry II. Cœur-de-Lion built no castles in this country, and John, his successor, was perpetually moving about from one castle to another, exercising in the most unpopular manner his royal prerogative of purveyance.

In ecclesiastical architecture, the transition from the Norman to the Early English style was very strongly marked; but in buildings of the military type the change was not so great. The rectangular and circular keeps with their Norman features retained their hold upon the castle-builders for a long period. The style of architecture was eminently suited to the requirements of a castle, and to this must be ascribed the reason for the military architecture of the country not running concurrently as, it were, with the ecclesiastical architecture.

Gradually, and by slow degrees, the Norman towers and shell-keeps fell out of fashion, and they were succeeded by towers of a cylindrical form, which became known as donjons. This change of building corresponds to the middle period of the Early English ecclesiastical style of architecture. Perhaps from a strictly scientific

and military point of view this change was scarcely an advance, for it will readily be understood that the defenders of an isolated round tower could not concentrate their fire. The round tower, however, had the advantage of being vaulted, and was thus more solid and less exposed in many ways than the rectangular keep.

These donjons were, as a rule, entered at the first floor level, either by an exterior stone stair or by one of timber. Sometimes, as at Pembroke, the entrance was by a drawbridge. There were commonly three floors. The basement was always used for stores. The central floor contained the chief room, and this was usually furnished with a fire-place. Sometimes, also, there were mural chambers, one of which would always be a garderobe. The upper room was used either for the soldiers, or else as a bedroom for the lord. The walls of these towers were usually about twelve feet thick, and when vaulted they were well calculated to withstand the attack of the enemy, and to hold out against a blockading force by passive strength, and thus to defy attacks.

It was during the reign of Henry III. that

fortified dwelling-houses began to be built ; these were usually embattled and moated, but they were not regular castles. They appear to have been a curious mixture of the military and domestic architecture of the period, and resulted in a certain picturesqueness of detail and outline, and at the same time gave a general effect of dignity and strength.

On the accession of Edward I. to the throne, his policy seems to have been, not to build, but to pull down castles. In the fourth year of his reign it was enacted, “ It is to be enquired of castelles, and also of other buildings girt with dytches, what the walls, tymber, stone, lead, and other manner of coverynges are worth, and how they may be solde, after the very value of the same walls and buyldinges. And how moche the buyldinges without the dych may be solde for, and what they may be worth, with the gardens, curtylages, dove house, and all other issues of the Court by the yere.” Most likely this enactment related principally to such of the unlicensed castles as had escaped the hands of Henry III.

The great characteristic of an Edwardian castle is the arrangement of the lines of defence,

one within the other, two, and sometimes three deep, with towers at the angles and along the walls, no part according to this plan being left entirely to its own defences. Both a Norman keep and an Early English round tower could only be defended by the projection of missiles from the battlements, which, of course, exposed those discharging them almost as much as those receiving them. The employment of mural towers, as well as adding passive strength to the wall from which they projected, enabled the defenders (themselves well protected) to bring great concentration of attack to bear on the enemy. In these castles the keep, the main feature in the Norman and Early English fortress, was dispensed with: it became, as it were, developed into an open court, strengthened on all sides and angles by mural towers and gatehouses.

In an Edwardian castle one of the principal features is the hall. This is spacious, well-lighted, and usually has a fine fire-place and a timber roof. The kitchen, too, is a very important part of castles of this period. Probably the Norman cookery was of a primitive description, and few of their keeps have any discoverable kitchen,

whereas in the later castles the kitchen was often a great feature. At Caerphilly and also at Cockermouth it occupies a large tower. At Ludlow it stood out alone in the court ward.

A chapel is an essential part of an Edwardian castle. Many of the larger castles contained regularly endowed chapels, and sometimes, as at Windsor, even collegiate.

The gatehouses of the Edwardian period are for the most part very imposing structures. The plan is usually rectangular, and always flanked in front by two drum towers, and sometimes in the rear by two others. In its centre was the portal arch opening into a long straight passage. Above the portal was usually a small window, and above that, at the summit, a machicolation set out on corbels, or in its place a sort of bridge thrown across from tower to tower.

A great number of the Edwardian castles combine the palace with the fortress, but in these the domestic arrangements are always subservient to the military. Now in these later days it is curious to observe the reversal of the order of things. The change came about gradually, force of circumstances and the history of the time

combining to bring the domestic element into prominence. The change came, too, much more quickly in the south of England than in the north; this, of course, is readily understood when we remember that the border country was always more or less in a disturbed state, and it was for a long period absolutely necessary that the castles, and even private houses in many cases, should be strongly fortified. How many of those which once reared their proud walls to heaven, exulting in their strength, are now but little more than a heap of ruins:—

“ . . . There is a power
And magic in the ruined battlement,
For which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower.”
—*Childe Harold*. Canto iv., cxxix. BYRON.

ENGLAND HOWLETT.

Chaucer and the Mediæval Inn.

WHAT a host of associations are conjured up by the one word *inn*. How they come crowding in upon us from all times and places. Town inns and country inns, coaching houses and ancient hostelries, with the thousand and one memories of the famous men who have frequented them. How the life of old Spain passes again before one in the pages of "Don Quixote"—those wayside *posadas* of Andalusia, and the strange adventures which there befell the Knight of La Mancha and his stout squire. And the inns of Dickens—in "Pickwick Papers," for instance—how far off and yet so near they seem to us still. What visions we have of portly Bonifaces, half-mythical highwaymen, bygone generations of travellers. Hosts, guests, and Claude Duvals, now all alike, alas! vanished with the Pale Horseman into thin air!

To deal with the subject of inns and their associations in any wide or general sense would require space far exceeding that at our disposal. Such a scheme would need rather a lengthy

treatise than a short paper. And in the present sketch our purpose is to restrict ourselves to inn life in mediæval times. Even within these limits our paper cannot claim to be more than a cursory contribution.

In the earlier Middle Ages, when communication between different parts of the country was difficult, and travellers were few, it is probable that there existed no great number of houses of entertainment. The hospitality of the abbey, and that of the neighbouring castle, sufficed in most cases for the needs of the times, at least so far as the rural districts were concerned. But gradually as the home pilgrimages came largely into vogue, and as commerce and general inter-communication increased, there sprung up, in the large towns, inns and hostelries, which laid themselves out for the reception of those who journeyed abroad; merchants, pilgrims, minstrels, and persons of no fixed abode.

In some cases the *hospitium* of the abbey or priory, as the stream of pilgrims and travellers increased, appears by a transition to have merged into the ordinary hostelry. We may take Chaucer's famous inn, the *Tabard* in Southwark, as an example of this sort of accommodation to

meet the exigencies of the times. In the first instance, we find a house of entertainment was built early in the fourteenth century by the Abbot of Hyde, who bought the land there. This place seems to have been used principally—if not exclusively—by ecclesiastics. But con-



GEOFFREY CHAUCER.

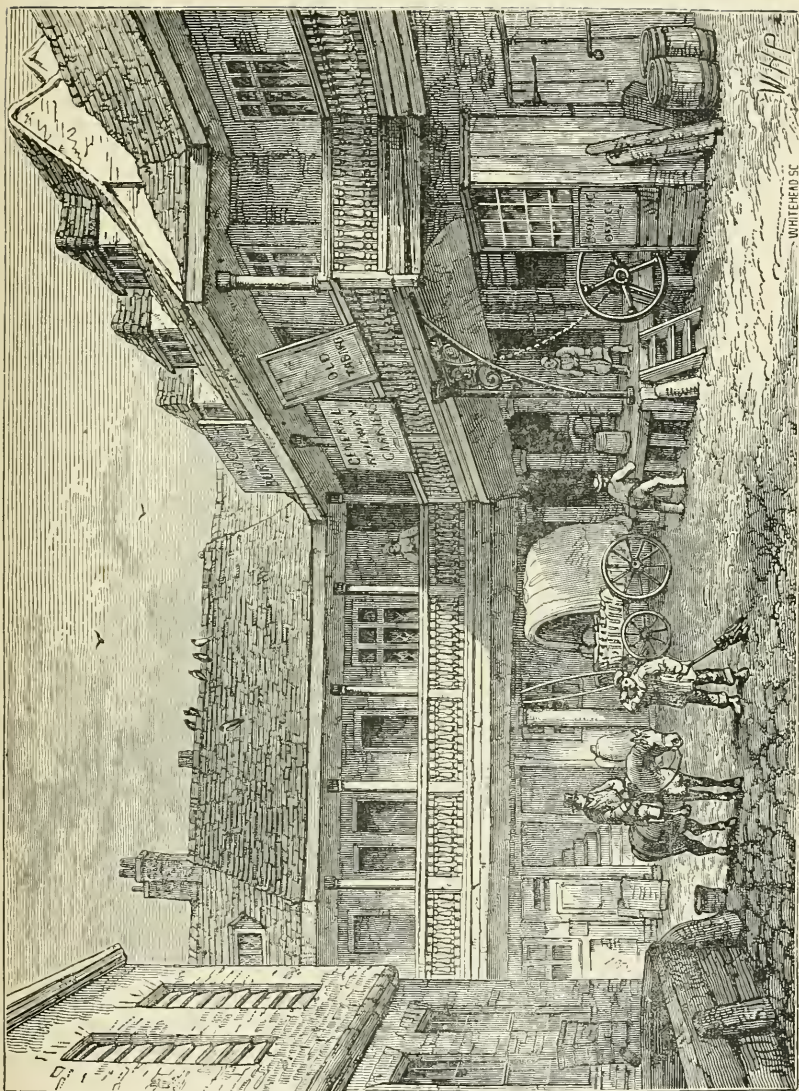
(From the Harleian MS. 4866, fol. 91.)

sidering the important position which it occupied on the southern road, it is easy to understand how its scope was gradually extended. Pilgrims bound to Canterbury would naturally seek the abbot's house for hospitality, and taking into

account the numbers resorting thither, it would soon become quite a popular hostelry, where the guests would pay for their board and lodgings, the same as at any other inn. Anyhow such was the Tabard in Chaucer's time, when he tells us that it befell on a certain April day

“In Southwerke at the Tabard as I lay,
Ready to wenden on my pilgrimage,
To Canterbury with ful devout courage,
At night was come into that hostelrye,
Wel nine and twenty in a compaignye.”

In imagination it is not difficult to picture such an ancient inn. Although few of the type now exist in London, we have yet numerous examples scattered up and down the country in our old towns. Built around a courtyard, with which the guest chambers communicated, and having wooden galleries on three or four sides, these being approached from below by flights of steps. Hither came not only travellers and pilgrims, but also all that motley assemblage of characters who were from time to time allowed within its precincts. Morris-dancers, mummers, jugglers, musicians, and ballad-singers might be seen there in the evening; all hopeful of gathering largesse from the guests. And the sound of the bagpipe, timbrel, tabor, dulcimer, and pipe might be heard.



THE OLD "TABARD" INN.
(From a sketch shortly before its demolition.)

For travellers and pilgrims in mediæval times were not a doleful folk. On the contrary, most of the last-named in the fourteenth century appear to have endeavoured to make their journeys as agreeable, and as much like a holiday, as possible.

The Tabard, demolished only a few years ago, was a house of the character just described. Perhaps it was not exactly Chaucer's own Tabard, but it certainly was the legitimate successor of the more antique structure, taken down in the seventeenth century. John Stow described the Tabard of his day as the most ancient hostelry south of London Bridge. There until as it were but yesterday the wayfarer—so inclined—might still obtain a draught of that famous ale, of which Chaucer's *Cook* was such an excellent judge. The inn was a fine half-timbered house, with a gallery and courtyard, where there was ample space for such a company as rode from thence on that memorable morn five centuries ago.

The historic original of Chaucer's host of the Tabard—the real Master Harry Bailly—was a vintner, a person of some consequence in his day, and a Member of Parliament. Evidently he was

a well-to-do citizen. What resemblance, however, the landlord of the "Tales" bears to his actual prototype it is difficult to say; but it is unquestionable that he is the ancestor of a long line of descendants, including mine host of the Garter in the "Merry Wives of Windsor." Bailly has a very liberal opinion of his own importance, is a shrewd observer, and expresses his views concerning both persons and things with a pointedness which there is no mistaking. He has a genuine attachment to the vested interest principle, has a strong aversion to lay preaching, and indeed to sermonising of any sort. Though he tells no tale, he is the most sustained of all Chaucer's fourteenth century characters. A thorough worldling, to whom anything in the least smacking of the Puritan is distasteful. He has a keen scent for a Lollard, and quickly smells him "in the wind." For similar reasons—easy to understand—he cannot tolerate the poet's romantic "Rhyme of Sir Topas"; for this knight was a teetotaler, and even did not object to sleep in the open air. Inn-keepers never did approve of persons of this sort; it was not good for their business, and Bailly always regarded things from the professional point of view.

It must not be forgotten that Chaucer himself was the son of a vintner, and it is probable that mine host, though he bears the name of an actual person, may immortalise also something of the family likeness, as well as partake of the lineaments of the landlord of the Tabard. The poet's father, John Chaucer, owned a house in Thames Street, not far from the arch on which modern pilgrims pass by rail to Canterbury and beyond, and in the neighbourhood of the great bridge which then led to the southern road. This house afterwards became the property of Geoffrey, who released his right to it by deed dated 1380. There can be little doubt that Chaucer, senior, was a person of some consequence—the vintner of the fourteenth century was often the equivalent of the great brewer of these later days,—and we know that for some time he was attached to the Court. John Chaucer died in 1366, but his wife married again, and this second husband was also a vintner. The poet's half-brother, Thomas Heyroun, was likewise brought up to the same calling. So the author of the "Tales" was a competent person to speak of inns and tavern life.

At the same time it cannot be said that he indicates anywhere in his writings hereditary

devotion to the god of wine. Even in the mouth of such a person of experience as the pardoner, he puts an invective against drunkenness, strong enough to become the lips of an ardent temperance moralist of to-day. Perhaps the poet's own opinion and practice is best summarised in the words he puts into the mouth of Cressid :—

“ In every thing I wot, there lies measure,
For though a man forbid all drunkenness
He biddeth not that every creature
Be drinkless altogether, as I guess.”

On this point, however, some of us beg to differ from him.

To-day we English are often charged with being a reserved and unsociable people. We are told that one section of the community holds aloof from the other, and that this spirit strongly asserts itself when we take our journeys from home, or go a holidaying. Probably there is a good deal of truth in the statement. In the days of our ancestors, however, distinctions of this sort do not appear to have been so marked, indeed the evidence goes largely to prove that much of this sentiment is largely of modern growth. There was a fellow-feeling

amongst travellers in olden days which, for the time at least, served to break down those stupid class differences, which might elsewhere hold good. In Shakespeare's plays and Scott's novels, the one inn parlour holds not only the gentleman in his ruffles, but also such as Christopher Sly, the drunken tinker. In the olden days, Tony Lumpkin refreshes himself, with his two shabby companions, in the same room as that which the couple of London exquisites enter, and yet everybody felt at home. It was this freedom and travellers' free masonry which is the reason why the inn has always been associated with good company, and largely goes to explain the success of Scott's "Tales of my Landlord." It is almost needless to point out how this fellow-feeling is illustrated in the "Canterbury Tales." The gallant knight, with his old-world courtesies, has for his companions the rustic miller and the reeve. The dandified young squire and the repulsive sompnour, the prim prioress and the much-married outspoken wife of Bath, with many another beside, all form one party on that ever memorable journey.

Chaucer's company, bent on one common

errand, would meet in the large room of the inn—the modern coffee room—and we can imagine would be well quizzed by each other. The knight, the most august member of the party, would be treated with respect and deference, and the ladies regarded with interest. Some of the more objectionable pilgrims perhaps would not be received with unmixed cordiality. However, the fare doubtless being excellent and everybody in good humour, the company would readily fall in with the host's proposals for their amusement. And when morning broke he would gather his flock together, which rode off betimes, and proceeded at little more than a footpace to the watering-place of St. Thomas.

It would seem that the company passed several nights at the various towns *en route*, and had the author lived to complete his design, we should perhaps have had the account of their reception and departure there. It is, indeed, a matter of regret that we have not more pictures of the life on the journey; their haltings, their sojournings, and how they refreshed the inner-man. We have one reference bearing on the subject. When the pardoner is called upon to tell his tale, he replies :—

“It shall be done (quoth he) and that anon,
But first (quoth he) here at this ale-stake,
I will bothe drynke and byten on a cake.”

The roadside ale-houses, where drink was sold to travellers and to the people of the country-side, were scattered over the more populous and frequented parts of England from an early period, and are not unfrequently referred to by the popular writers of the times.

In addition to the regular inns it was a custom amongst the town burghers to receive guests for profit. These keepers of private houses of hospitality were known as *herbergeors*, that is, people who gave harbour to strangers. The class were subjected to municipal regulation, and judging by references which have come down to us they seem to have needed it, for we have clear evidence that they were largely given to extortion and doubtful dealing. The great barons, when from home, largely took up their abode with these *herbergeors* in preference to the public hostels, and thus a sort of relationship was formed between the noble patrons and the burghers themselves, whose arms they often adopted. This is the probable explanation of the modern public-houses so often having certain “arms” as their sign.

The ordinary tavern in the Middle Ages appears to have been the scene of a large portion of the every-day life of the lower orders of society, and it cannot be said that the influence was for good. Chaucer, the author of "Piers Plowman," and other writers, all afford us illustration in support of this view. Women, even of the middle classes, spent their time there drinking, and in gossip and low intrigue. The moralists of the period all agree in describing the tavern as the general lounge of the worthless and the idle. When Chaucer, in his "Pardoner's Tale," wishes to present to us a group of dissipated young men, who spent their days drinking, dicing, and indulging in strange oaths, he pictures them sitting in a tavern in the early morning, long before the bell rang for nine o'clock prayers.

Again, in "Piers Plowman," we are told that Sir Glutton, on his way to confession, is intercepted by his friend the brewer, and by his eloquence is tempted aside to take a cup with his gossips. Entirely forgetting the original purpose of his journey, he soon enters into the spirit of the revelling. He drinks, sings, and swears, and remains in the tavern long after the

bell has tolled for vespers. Having disposed of a gallon and a gill of ale, it is little wonder that when he attempts to leave the place his steps are somewhat uncertain. He proceeds on his way like the blind gleeman's dog, that is, quite at cross purposes. The sequel is that he falls down in a dead drunken sleep, and there he remains for many an hour.

Occleve, the friend of Chaucer, in an autobiographical reference, describes the conduct of the dissipated young men of his times. He tells us that the tavern was the resort of young women of loose character, by whom in his youth he was beguiled into extravagant expenditure. He also states that these houses were the scenes of brawls and quarrels, but out of these latter, he candidly confesses, he was kept by want of courage. Westminster Gate was one of the headquarters of these places, and there, he says, he spent many a night. He even kept worse hours than all his companions, except two. This couple, however, were such rakes that they never left their beds next morning until prime, that is, six o'clock. This fact the poet puts down as a sort of wonder—clear evidence that our ancestors at that period were very early risers compared

with us, their more degenerate descendants to-day. Speaking of those wild days of his youth, Occleve relates that the sign which hung at the tavern-door was a temptation which he could seldom resist. This sign, we may presume, was the bush, such as one may still see suspended before wayside *estaminets* on the Continent. The country ale-houses had commonly then a pole or stake projecting from the front of the house, to which a garland or bush was attached. This was known as the ale-stake. We may find illustrations of it in old mediæval MSS., and Chaucer makes reference to the custom when describing the sompneur ; he tells us that

“ A garland had he sette upon his head,
As grete as it were for an ale-stake.”

Concerning the clerk Absolon, that “jolly was and gay,” and who excelled as a musician, the poet informs us that there was not a tavern or brewhouse in the town but he visited it. By brewhouses the commoner sort of ale-houses probably are meant. And the friar, too, he

“. . . knew well the taverns in every town,
And every hosteller.”

In the miracle play of “Noah’s Flood” the patriarch is represented as finding his termagant

of a wife drinking in a tavern with her gossips, when he wishes to take her into the ark.

From illustrations in ancient illuminated manuscripts, we have obtained valuable sidelights of the habits and customs of our forefathers in relation to this subject of inn life. Some of the facts seem very curious in our modern eyes, the practice, for instance, of sleeping in a state of nudity. There are so many illustrations and references to it, that it is not a matter open to question. In one fourteenth century MS. we have the view of people sleeping in what appears to be a public hostelry. The beds are made in recesses like the berths of a modern steamer. A man on horseback is supposed to be outside, and his arrival has given alarm to another man in bed, who is escaping without any kind of clothing. We have a similar picture in a MS. in the Hunterian Library, Glasgow, which represents the guests at an inn sleeping naked as they were born. All the evidence goes to prove that men and women alike commonly slept in this way. Curiously, however, they seem to have covered their heads with a kerchief.

The last-named view also illustrates the practice of lodging a number of persons in the same room.

In the Middle Ages, however numerous the guests might be, even if strangers one to the other, they were commonly obliged to sleep together indiscriminately—both sexes in the same chamber. In one of the continuations of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales," which purports to represent the doings of the pilgrims at the cathedral city itself, which the poet never lived to tell, we have the account of their sojourn at the inn where they put up at Canterbury. This old writer portrays exactly the same state of things. They all retire to one chamber, and one candle appears to serve for the whole company, it being extinguished when the last betakes himself to his couch. Next day, however, they are out of bed so early that they were on their journey homeward by sunrise.

W. H. THOMPSON.

Vows of Achievement.

IF the obligations of knighthood sat lightly on the consciences of the *preux chevaliers* of England in the Middle Ages, it may at least be asserted on their behalf that they were as ready as their chivalrous neighbours of Scotland and Europe to record their vows of achievement over peacock, crane, or swan in lordly halls, or, in sterner mood, when armies stood face to face, and it was well for King and Fatherland that men should stand boldly forward and make their vow, even as Sir James Audley made his vow ere the armies joined battle at Poitiers.

The absurdly extravagant spirit of those vows of achievement is well hit off by Praed in a charade, which is rather a poem than a puzzle :—

“ He vowed a vow, that noble knight,
Before he went to table,
To make his only sport the fight,
His only couch the stable,
Till he had dragged, as he was bid,
Five score of Turks to Cadiz,—
And this that gallant Spaniard did,
For me, and for the ladies,”

To revert to Sir James Audley, he may well claim the place of honour here as he claimed it at Poitiers on the 19th September, 1356. The Black Prince had marshalled his little army, and calmly awaited the bursting of the storm, when Sir James Audley waited upon him, and besought permission, in requital of past services, to post himself in the van, and meet the first wild charge, when King John's fierce lancers came spurring in. He alleged that he had sometime before recorded a vow that, when fighting in the presence of King Edward or his sons, he would be first in field, and first in the service of valour, or leave his body on the field. Courtly Froissart chronicles the answer of the warlike prince, as he acceded to the good knight's petition:—"Sir James, God grant that this day you may shine in valour above all other knights." So the warrior took post in the very front of the battalion, supported by four trusty squires. Speedily the narrow lane that led to the English centre was occupied by the chivalry of France, as Andreghen and Clermont advanced their banners, the lordly heralds of a sea of plumes and a forest of flashing lances. Dreadful was the havoc, and sorely wasted was the chivalry of France when it emerged from that

fatal lane to charge the English men-at-arms. The noble Audley and his squires met them bravely, under shield, and the tumult swelled high. When the battle was over, and Edward had refreshed himself in his "small pavilion of crimson colour," his banner floating in the air, and his trumpets sounding their loud triumphant notes, in answer to his earnest inquiries, Sir James Audley was borne into his presence, sorely wounded. The prince comforted his proud spirit by the assurance that he shone first of all the island chivalry in the mad whirl of battle that had settled down to the sullen peace of exhaustion and defeat. To his kind words Edward added a yearly pension of 500 marks, but these the magnanimous knight bestowed upon his four trusty squires, with many kind words, for they had worthily assisted him that day in the achievement of his vow.

Worthy of all admiration was the cheerful readiness of the knights of old to assist a brother warrior to redeem his vow, although at risk of limb or life. When Gauvain Micaille made his challenge he soon found an English squire, Joachim Cator, ready to "deliver him from his vow;" and Sir John Holland, a man inured

to deeds of violence and bloodshed, but as brave as he was wicked, was ever ready to meet the demands of chivalry. When he accepted the invitation of Sir Reginald de Roye to "deliver him from his vow," he remarked to John of Gaunt that "he loved nothing better than fighting," and the knight entreated such indulgence from his hands. He was the first to cross the sea, carrying with him some sixty knights and squires, when the brave French knights, Boucicaut, Reginald de Roye, and Lord de Saimpi, held the lists for thirty days at Calais "to deliver from their vows all knights, squires, and gentlemen, with five courses, with sharp or blunt lances." When Sir John had completed the agreed number of courses he was eager to break another lance in honour of his lady, but this indulgence was denied him, perhaps not the less firmly because it was again recorded in his praise, that he "had excellently well justed."

Many brave knights died by lance and sword in the redeeming of their vows. The noble crest went down; the warm blood ebbed, and the warrior bade a long adieu to lance and steed, to feats of arms and ladies fair. So died Sir

Lancelot de Lorris, who requested a tilt in honour of his lady, but fell, pierced through shield and armour by the cruel spear of Sir John Copeland. Well might Froissart exclaim that it was a sad pity, "For he was an expert knight, young and handsome, and there, as elsewhere, sincerely lamented."

In numerous instances the desperate character of the vows scarcely left the over-hardy warrior a chance for life. Thus when John of Gaunt was in command of the English forces in France, one of his young knights vowed to strike the gates of Paris with his lance, and carried out his vow, although surrounded by the enemy. In returning through the suburbs he was attacked by a gigantic butcher, who struck him off his horse by a blow of his cleaver, and so slew him.

Equally desperate was the exploit of a Lincolnshire man-at-arms before Troyes, and equally disastrous the issue. Froissart says he was "an excellent man, I know not whether he had made any vow." With his buckler at his neck, and his lance at the charge, he leaped his horse over the barriers, and spurred through the hostile chivalry of France towards the Duke of Burgundy and his nobles, but only to

be rolled over, man and horse, by stroke of lance, and to perish without hope of rescue.

The influence of the ladies had much to do with those wild feats of arms, and they liberally encouraged their lovers to carry out their dangerous exploits, as in the case of the English heiress, who is said to have offered her hand as the prize of the valiant warrior who should successfully defend Castle Dangerous for a year and a day against the plots and assaults of that grim man-slayer, the Black Douglas.

A brave man indeed was the hero of the "bloody vest," Sir Thomas of Kent, and a chivalrous lady that Princess of Benevent—fortunately a mediæval, not a modern woman. Her demands are thus expressed :—

““Fling aside the good armour in which thou art clad,
And don thou this weed of her night-gear instead ;
For a hauberk of steel, a kirtle of thread ;
And charge thus attired in the tournament dread,
And fight as thy wont is, where most blood is shed,
And bring honour away, or remain with the dead.’”

No wonder the lady's night-gear was returned to her unseemly to view—

“All rent and all tattered, all clotted with blood,
With foam of the horses, with dust and with mud ;
Not the point of that lady's small finger, I ween,
Could have rested on spot was unsullied and clean,”

However, the princess was no doubt a model of feminine chivalry, and valued the vest like a noble lady—

“Then deep blushed the princess—yet kissed she and pressed
The blood-spotted robe to her lips and her breast.
‘Go tell my true knight, church and chamber shall show
If I value the blood on this garment or no.’”

Vows of achievement were not unfrequently recorded with great ceremony and pomp. L. E. L., in her “Vow of the Peacock,” thus describes the ceremony :—

“Stately as night, and fair as day,
The lovely lady made her way
Through armed ranks, that bent to her
As if she were a conqueror :
Then bending on her graceful knee
Her lowly suit she made,
And prayed him of his courtesy
To give an orphan aid ;
And leave the tourney for the far
And fatal scenes of actual war.
The colour kindled on his cheek,
A moment and he could not speak ;
Then silence hastily broke he,
And said, ‘Oh, fairest dame !
Henceforth my sword is vowed to thee,
And asks no other fame.
I pray thee rise, it were more meet
For me to kneel before thy feet,
And vow to thee, as at a shrine,
That heart, and hand, and sword, are thine.’

Hope kindled in Irene's eyes,
 Yet from her knee she would not rise,
 But spoke again : ' If true art thou,
 Take thou the Peacock's sacred vow.'
 Her listening maidens caught the word,
 And forth they brought the royal bird ;
 The glorious bird, to whom is given
 The colour of an eastern heaven.
 The golden dish is richly chased
 On which the royal bird is placed ;
 And lovely are the bearers twain,
 Who there the gorgeous weight sustain.
 The one is fair, as that meek flower
 The lily, hiding in her bower ;
 Fair as the north, whose sky and snows
 Give softest white and purest rose.
 The other—such soft shadows weave
 The sweet shapes of a southern eve.
 The fringed lashes darkly bend
 Where moon-beams and where meteors blend,—
 Eyes, full of danger and delight,
 Where softness and where fire unite.

 Before the armed knight they stand,
 Then flashes forth his eager brand ;
 So help him God ! as he shall fight
 For honour and his lady's right ;
 So help him God ! as he shall be
 True to his faith, his sword, and thee.
 She watched him while he swore—that queen
 So fair a knight had never seen—
 The past, to which she turned, grew dim,
 How could she think, and not of him."

More rough and ready, but not less chivalrous

and effective, was the vow of the renowned Sir Walter Manny, when dining with the gallant Countess of Montfort in her beleaguered fortress of Hennebon. A huge mass of stone, driven from an enormous catapult, crashed through the roof of a house in the immediate neighbourhood of the castle, and the ladies who sat at meat with the good knight and his chief captains were greatly dismayed. Sir Walter at once solemnly vowed to destroy the machine, and retired from table, followed by his warriors. The troops of Charles of Blois were exerting themselves manfully with catapult and sow, and exulting over the mischief they were working to the walls and roofs of Hennebon, when suddenly Sir Walter issued from a postern with lances and pennons, hot for mischief and revenge. English steel grew red before Manny spurred back, leaving behind him confusion and ruin, the shattered fragments of the famous catapult, and the ashes of the burnt sow. Richly had he won his reward from the chivalrous countess, who "came down from the castle to meet them, and with a most cheerful countenance, kissed Sir Walter and all his companions, one after another, like a noble and valiant dame."

Froissart thus records the vow of Thomas Felton, who struck his last blow on the field of Otterbourne :—" Just as the defeat took place, and while the combat was continued in different parts, an English squire, whose name was Thomas Felton, and who was attached to the household of Lord Percy, was surrounded by a body of Scots. He was a handsome man, and, as he showed, valiant in arms. That and the preceding night he had been employed in collecting the best arms, and would neither surrender nor deign to fly. It was told me that he had made a vow to that purpose, and had declared at some feast in Northumberland, that at the very first meeting of the Scots and English he would acquit himself so loyally, that, for having stood his ground, he should be renowned as the best combatant of both parties. I also heard, for I believe I never saw him, that his body and limbs were of strength befitting a valiant combatant ; and that he performed such deeds, when engaged with the banner of the Earl of Moray, as astonished the Scots ; however, he was slain while thus bravely fighting. Through admiration of his great courage they would willingly have made him a prisoner, and several

knights proposed it to him ; but in vain, for he thought he should be assisted by his friends. Thus died Thomas Felton, much lamented by his own party. When he fell he was engaged with a cousin of the King of Scotland, called Simon Glendinning."

Great, of necessity, must have been the sorrow entailed upon the families of those warm-hearted, hard-headed warriors, when the fortune of battle turned against them, and many a broken-hearted maiden may have followed her defeated warrior to an untimely grave ; many a grey-haired matron bent in wordless anguish over the cold clay of a dearly, tenderly cherished son ; while even hoary warriors may have bit the dust in such sad, shall we say, in many instances useless exploits ? Certainly in some cases the vows emanated from the higher ideals of chivalry, as when, in 1453, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, vowed upon the pheasant to conduct a crusade into the East, recording his vow " Before God, my Creator in the first place, and the glorious Virgin His mother, and next before the ladies and the pheasant."

Other forms of activity, higher ideals, have succeeded to these old-time struggles for fame

and fortune, but in looking back at the knightly figures which throng the dramatic stage of history, with its background of lordly castles, dim mysterious forests, and red battle-drifts of ruin and triumph, we are bound to confess, making due allowance for higher living and higher thinking, that the old spirit of chivalry, of emulation, throbs mightily in the hearts of Englishmen to-day, and yet on foughten fields the old achievements are repeated, although the chivalrous vow, writ, it may be, on the warriors' heart, are left unrecorded on the rolls of history.

EDWARD LAMPLOUGH.

The May=Poic.

THE merry-makings held in May in bygone times formed a pleasant feature in the life of the English people. The origin of the chief customs and superstitions connected with the holiday may be traced back to Roman sources. Amidst changes brought about by time we may probably trace in this festival a relic of an annual gathering held in honour of Maia, the mother of Mercury, at Ostia, a town situated some sixteen miles from Rome. Claudius is credited with the inception of the festival, but later it was incorporated with *Floralia*, the feast of Flora, which commenced on April 27th, and lasted several days. Some say Flora was a courtesan, who left her fortune to the people of Rome; they were, however, ashamed of her profession, and made her the goddess of flowers. Her festival was set apart for the special enjoyment of the women, who ran races day and night in the amphitheatre, and the winners were crowned with flowers. At Ostia both men and women participated in the sports, and all who attended were decorated with gar-

lands, and over the doors of dwellings were branches bearing fruits and flowers. Not content with these adornments, the gallants of Rome repaired to the woods and cut down trees, and brought and set them up before the houses of their mistresses. The forests were being cleared of trees, and to prevent this destruction it was ordered that a tall shaft or pole ornamented with garlands should be substituted for the trees, and from this practice comes our English May-pole.

It is quite clear from Stow's "Survey of London," that May-games were not always held on the first day of the month. "In the month of May," says Stow, "the citizens of London of all estates, generally in every parish, and in some instances two or three parishes joining together, had their several Mayings, and did fetch their May-poles with divers warlike shows; with good archers, morris-dancers, and other devices for pastime all day long; and towards evening they had stage-plays and bonfires in the streets. These great Mayings and May-games were made by the governors and masters of the city, together with the triumphant setting up of the great shaft, or principal May-pole, in Cornhill before the parish church of Saint Andrew, which was thence called



MAY-POLE BEFORE SAINT ANDREW UNDERSHAFT, LONDON.

Saint Andrew Undershaft." Stow's book was published in 1598, and it supplies us with an account from the writer's own observation of the May-time merry-makings of his day. At this period they were somewhat shorn of their ancient splendour, owing to the dangerous riot which occurred on May Day, 1517. Much damage was done, and many lives were lost, before the troops of Henry VIII. could quell the outbreak, which originated with the London apprentices, who were a formidable body, and chiefly directed their resentment against foreign merchants and artisans for supposed interference with the natives of this country. About three hundred of the rioters were taken prisoners, and several of the ring-leaders were hanged on gibbets erected in various parts of the Metropolis. This tragical day was afterwards known as the Evil May Day.

Henry VIII., we learn from old-time records, enjoyed the May Day festivities. We read of him riding a Maying from Greenwich to the high ground of Shooter's Hill, with Queen Katherine his wife, accompanied with many lords and ladies. He was but keeping up a custom which other monarchs had maintained. In Chaucer's "Court of Love" we are told that early on May Day

"fourth goth al the Court, both most and lest to fetch the flouris fresh, and branch, and bloome."

Puritanical authors exercised their powers in writing against May-poles. In 1577 was published Northbrooke's "Treatise," wherein "Dicing, Dauncing, vaine Playes or Enterludes, with other idle Pastime, etc., commonly used on the Sabbath-day," are reprov'd. "What adoe," says the author, "make our yong men at the time of May? Do they not use night-watchings to rob and steale yong trees out of other men's groundes, and bring them into their parishe, with minstrels playing before: and when they have set it up, they will decke it with floures and garlands, and daunce rounde (men and women together, moste unsemmely and intolerable, as I proved before) about the golden calfe that they have set up." Philip Stubbes, in his "Anatomie of Abuses," brought out in 1583, uses strong language against the May-pole. He says after it has been reared the folk fall "to banquet and feast, to leape and daunce about it, as the Heathen people did at the dedication of their idols, whereof this is a perfect patterne, or rather the thyng itself." Another Puritan writer calls it a "long wooden idol."

The Puritan power was increasingly felt. Thus in 1589 the local authorities of Lancashire were called upon to suppress "May-games," "bull baits," and other "enormities." When James I. passed through the county in 1617, he issued the famous document known as the "Book of Sports." This was re-issued, with a new preface, by Charles I. in 1633. His Majesty came to the assistance of his pleasure-loving subjects, and it was declared that "for his good people's lawfull recreation, after the end of Divine Service, his good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawfull recreation; such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreations; nor from having May-Games, Whitsun Ales, and Morris Dances, and the *setting up of May-poles*, and other sports therewith used; so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of Divine Service. And that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old customs. But withal his Majesty doth hereby account still as prohibited, all unlawful games to be used on Sundays only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and,

at all times, in the meaner sort of people by the law prohibited, bowling." A Lancashire "country song" of the seventeenth century tells us :—

"The Meols men danced their Cop,
And about the Maypole did hop,
Till their shoes were so full of sand
That they could no longer stand."

A few years later Parliament showed its disapproval of the May-pole, and in 1644 issued an order for its destruction, in which it is stated, "because the prophanation of the Lord's Day hath been heretofore greatly occasioned by May-poles (a heathenish vanity, generally abused to superstition and wickedness), the Lords and Commons do further order and ordain that all and singular May-poles, that are or shall be erected, shall be taken down and removed by the constables, borsholders, tything-men, petty constables, and churchwardens of the parishes, where the same shall be; and that no May-pole shall be hereafter set up, erected, or suffered to be within this kingdom of England, or dominion of Wales. The said officers to be fined five shillings weekly till the said May-pole be taken down."

After the Restoration the May-pole was once

more raised in the land. In 1661 one was erected in the Strand with considerable ceremony. It was 134 feet in height, and has frequently been referred to in prose and poetry. Pope wrote :—

“Where the tall May-pole once o’erlooked the Strand.”

Dr. James Henry Dixon, in his “Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England,” gives a curious old song entitled “The Rural Dance about the May-pole.” The most correct copy of this song is that given in “The Westminster Drollery,” Part II., p. 80. It is there called “The Rural Dance about the May-pole, the tune, the first-figure dance at Mr. Young’s ball, May, 1671.” The tune is in “Popular Music.” The “May-pole,” for so the song is called in modern collections, is a very popular ditty at the present time. The common copies vary considerably from the following version, which is much more correct than any hitherto published :—

“Come, lasses and lads, take leave of your dads,
And away to the May-pole hie ;
For every he has got him a she,
And the minstrel’s standing by ;
For Willie has gotten his Jill,
And Johnny has got his Joan,
To jig it, jig it, jig it,
Jig it up and down.

Historic Byways and Highways.

'Strike up,' says Wat ; 'Agreed,' says Kate,
'And I prithee, fiddler, play ;'
'Content,' says Hodge, and so says Madge,
For this is a holiday.

Then every man did put
His hat off to his lass,
And every girl did curchy,
Curchy, curchy on the grass.

'Begin,' says Hall ; 'Aye, aye,' says Mall,
'We'll lead up *Packington's Pound* ;'
'No, no,' says Noll, and so says Doll,
'We'll first have *Sellenger's Round*.'

Then every man began
To foot it round about ;
And every girl did jet it,
Jet it, jet it, in and out.

'You're out,' says Dick ; ' 'Tis a lie,' says Nick,
'The fiddler played it false ;'
' 'Tis true,' says Hugh, and so says Sue,
And so says nimble Alice.

The fiddler then began
To play the tune again ;
And every girl did trip it, trip it,
Trip it to the men.

'Let's kiss,' says Jane, 'Content,' says Nan,
And so says every she ;
'How many ?' says Batt ; 'Why three,' says Matt,
'For that's a maiden's fee.'

But they, instead of three,
Did give them half a score,
And they in kindness gave 'em, gave 'em,
Gave 'em as many more.

Then after an hour, they went to a bower,
And played for ale and cakes ;
And kisses, too ;—until they were due,
The lasses kept the stakes ;
The girls did then begin
To quarrel with the men ;
And bid 'em take their kisses back,
And give them their own again.

Yet there they sate, until it was late,
And tired the fiddler quite,
With singing and playing, without any paying,
From morning unto night :
They told the fiddler then,
They'd pay him for his play ;
And each a two-pence, two-pence,
Gave him, and went away.

'Good-night,' says Harry ; 'Good-night,' says Mary ;
'Good-night,' says Dolly to John ;
'Good-night,' says Sue ; 'Good-night,' says Hugh ;
'Good-night,' says every one.
Some walked, and some did run,
Some loitered on the way ;
And bound themselves with love-knots, love-knots,
To meet the next holiday."

A charming picture of the May-pole appears in the "Sketch Book," and shows how the olden relic impressed an American visitor to England. "I shall never forget," wrote Washington Irving, "the delight I felt on first seeing a May-pole. It was on the banks of the Dee, close by the

picturesque old bridge that stretches across the river from the quaint little city of Chester. I had already been carried back into former days by the antiquities of that venerable place, the examination of which is equal to the turning over of the pages of a black-letter volume, or gazing on the pictures of Froissart. The May-pole on the margin of that poetic stream completed the illusion. My fancy adorned it with wreaths of flowers, and peopled the green banks with all the dancing revelry of May Day. The mere sight of this May-pole gave a glow to my feelings, and spread a charm over the country for the rest of the day ; and as I traversed a part of the fair plain of Cheshire and the beautiful borders of Wales, and looked from among swelling hills down a long green valley, through which ‘the Deva wound its wizard stream,’ my imagination turned all into a perfect Arcadia.” In a few of our English villages the May-pole may still be seen, and in these later times attempts have been made to revive the ancient customs of May Day, but it is to be feared without any great success.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

Archery in the Olden Time.

MUCH might be said respecting the use of the bow and arrow at a period long before chronicles were written. It is a theme which links us with the dim dawn of history. When the inhabitants of Britain were strangers to the humanising influences of civilisation, archery was general in warfare, and in the more peaceful art of shooting bird and beast for daily food. The numberless arrow-heads formed of flint-chips found in England to-day prove their common use. Long before the Romans landed on our shores, it was customary, in time of war, to send through the land a bended bow as an indication of the coming strife. In a poem by Mrs. Hemans we read :—

“There was heard the sound of coming foe,
There was sent through Britain a bended bow,
And a voice was poured from the free winds far,
As the land rose up at the sign of war.

‘Heard ye not the battle horn?
Reaper, leave the golden corn!
Leave it to the birds of heaven;
Swords must flash, and shields be riven!

Leave it for the winds to shed ;
 Arm, ere Britain's turf grow red.'
 And the reaper armed, like a freeman's son,
 And the bended bow pass'd on."

We are told how the hunter left his mountain chase, how the wolf and the deer were permitted to roam unmolested, for a nobler prey. The prince and the chieftain, and other armed men, are introduced in the poem. The minstrel's harp is strung, and all are ready to defend their native land. The spirited lines conclude as follows :—

" ' Mother, stay not thy boy !
 He must learn the battle's joy.
 Sister, bring the sword and spear,
 Give thy brother words of cheer !
 Maiden, bid thy lover part,
 Britain calls the strong of heart.'
 And the bended bow and the voice passed on ;
 And the bards made song for battle won."

When peace once more prevailed, a messenger again perambulated the land, bearing an unstrung bow, which made known the joyous fact that the war was over.

The use of the bow was known to the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes, by whom it was mainly employed as a means of procuring food and as a pastime. The Normans were expert archers, and on the field of Senlac did great service. From

nine in the morning until three in the afternoon the battle raged fiercely, and it was difficult to predict which army would win the day ; but the Norman bowmen at last changed the state of affairs. They at first discharged their arrows in a direct line, but with little effect, as the Saxons guarded themselves with their shields. Seeing that this mode of aiming was futile, orders were given for the archers to shoot into the air, towards the English, and the result was that the arrows fell on their heads and faces, and many into their eyes, and they feared to open them, and to leave their faces unguarded. “The arrows,” says Sir Edward Creasy, quoting from an old Norman chronicle, “now flew quicker than rain before the wind ; fast sped the shafts that the English called ‘wibetes.’” Then it was that an arrow that had been thus shot upwards struck Harold above his right eye, and put it out. In his agony he drew the arrow, and threw it away, breaking it with his hands : and the pain in his head was so great that he leaned upon the shield. So the English were wont to say, and still say the French, that the arrow was well shot which was sent up against their King ; and that the archer won them great glory who thus put out

Harold's eye." Under Norman rule archery soon became popular in this country. It was considered essential as part of the education of a young man who wished to make a figure in life. In the age of chivalry archery occupied a foremost place, and the heroes of romance are usually described as skilful bowmen. Chaucer, in his "Canterbury Tales," says of Sir Thopas that, "He was a good archere."

The date of the introduction of the cross-bow into England is unknown, but it was probably in use among the Continental peoples before it was known in this country. Richard I. is said to have received the wound which caused his death, in 1190, from an arrow sped from a bow of this kind. The weapon was used at the battle of Cressy by a body of Genoese archers in the service of France; but it never became so popular with our own countrymen as the long-bow. All male persons between the ages of fifteen and sixty were ordered in 1285 to practise martial sports and provide themselves with arms and armour, according to their position and means. The possessor of lands of the value of fifteen pounds and goods worth forty marks was to have an hauberk, that is, a complete suit of chain mail,

a breast-plate, a sword, and a knife; he who possessed ten pounds in land and twenty marks in goods a similar equipment, but was not required, like his superior in position and means, to also provide a horse; the possessor of five pounds in land a doublet, breast-plate, sword, and knife; those who owned from forty to a hundred shillings in land a sword, a bow and arrows, and a knife; owners of between twenty and forty shillings in land a bill and a knife; those with less than twenty marks in goods a sword and a knife; and all others a bow and arrows out of the forests, which may be supposed to mean those of home fabrication distinguished from those made by bowyers.

In the reign of Edward III., the practice of archery seems to have temporarily declined, for that King made a complaint to the sheriffs of London, that skill with the bow had diminished by reason of the preference shown for idle and useless pastimes, which he commanded them to cause to be laid aside, and all holidays used for practising with the bow. Penalties were imposed for neglect of this practice, and in the reign of Edward IV. it was enacted that every Englishman, or Irishman living in England,

should have a long bow of his own height, and that butts should be erected in every township, at which the men were to shoot on all holidays, under the penalty of a halfpenny for every omission of that exercise. An entry in the Common Council Book of the City of Chester sets forth that, "for the avoiding of idleness, all children of six years old and upwards" shall be sent to school, and on Sundays and holy days to church, "and in the afternoon all the said male children shall be exercised in shooting with bows and arrows, for pins and points only: and that their parents furnish them with bows and arrows, pins and points for that purpose, according to the statute lately made for maintenance of shooting with long-bows and artillery, being the ancient defence of the kingdom."

Bows and arrows appear to have been used for the last time in English warfare at the battle of Flodden Field in 1513, concerning which the centenarian, Henry Jenkins, informed Ann Saville, who lived at Bolton, in Yorkshire, where he was born, that he remembered being sent, when a boy of twelve, to Northallerton with a load of arrows, an older lad being sent on with them to the army. Henry VIII., him-

self an expert bowman, strove to revive the practice of archery, by forming and incorporating societies for that purpose, and procuring the enactment of an Act of Parliament consolidating and amending all previous statutes on the subject. It was thereby enacted that all men under sixty, except priests and justices, should have a bow and arrows, and duly exercise themselves at the butts; that parents and guardians should provide bows and arrows for all boys between the ages of seven and seventeen, under a penalty of six and eightpence for default; and that every male person on attaining the age of seventeen should provide himself with a bow and arrows, under the like penalty for omitting to do so. Yew, which had formerly been the wood most in request for bows, appears at this time to have become more scarce; for there is a clause in the Act prohibiting lads under seventeen from using yew bows, unless their parents owned land or tenements of the value of ten pounds. It was further provided that, "to the end that every person may have bows of mean price," that every bowyer in the city of London should keep two bows of ash or other wood for every one of yew, and those exercising their craft elsewhere should

keep four of the former for every yew bow, under a penalty of three and fourpence for every bow short of that proportion. Holinshed relates concerning Henry VIII. and his fondness for archery in his younger days, that "on the May day next following, the second year of his reign, his grace being young, and willing not to be idle, rose in the morning very early, to fetch May, or green boughs; himself fresh and richly appareled and clothed, all his knights, squires, and gentlemen in white satin, and all his guard and yeomen in white sarcenet; and so went every man with his bow and arrows shooting to the wood, and so returning again to the court, every man with a green bough in his cap. Now at his returning, many hearing of his going a-Maying were desirous to see him shoot, for at that time his grace shot as strong and as great a length as any of his guard. Then came to his grace a certain man with bow and arrows, and desired his grace to take the muster of him and to see him shoot, for at that time his grace was contented. The man put then one foot in his bosom, and so did shoot, and shot a very good shot, and well towards his mark; whereof not only his grace but all others marvelled. So the King gave him a reward for so doing."

Bishop Latimer, in a sermon preached before Edward VI., exhorted the lords present, “as they loved the honour and glory of God, and as they intended to remove His indignation, to provide for the practice of archery,” which he called “the gift of God, whereby we excelled all other nations.” “In my time,” he said, “my father was as delighted to teach me to shoot as to learn any other thing; and so, I think, other men did their children. He taught me to draw, how to lay my body and my bow, and not to draw with strength of arm, as other nations do, but with strength of body. I had my bow bought me according to my age and strength; as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger; for men shall never shoot well, except they be brought up to it. It is a goodly art, a wholesome kind of exercise, and much commended as physic.”

Elizabeth followed the example of her father in endeavouring to maintain the practice of archery, and in 1565 an Act was passed requiring all London bowyers to keep not less than fifty bows always in stock. Roger Ascham, who wrote his “Toxophilus” in this reign, says of Sir Humphrey Wingfield:—“This worshipful

man hath ever loved and used to have many children brought up in learning in his house, among whom I myself was one. For whom at term times he would bring down from London both bows and shafts. And when they should play he would go with them himself into the field, and see them shoot; and he that shot fairest should have the best bow and shafts, and he that shot ill-favouredly should be mocked of his fellows until he shot better."

Notwithstanding the efforts made by the Tudor sovereigns and the Parliaments of the period, backed by the exertions and example of many private individuals, the practice of archery continued to decline. Stow attributes this change to the growth of London, and the consequent enclosure and conversion into gardens and pastures of common lands formerly kept open for archery practice and other popular pastimes. These lands were on the north side of the city, outside Moorgate, and Fitzstephen, who died in 1191, records that "during the holidays in summer the young men exercise themselves in leaping, archery, etc." In Hall's Chronicle it is mentioned that the apprentices and other young men repaired to the fields beyond Finsbury to

practise archery; but they were even then embarrassed by the hedges fencing gardens and other enclosures. Holinshed, under date 1498, records:—"This year the gardens which had been continued time out of mind without Moor-gate were destroyed, and of them was made a plain field for archers to shoot in." In course of time, however, much of the land was again enclosed, so that in 1598 we find Stow lamenting over this condition of things. "What should I speak," he says, "of the ancient daily exercises in the long-bow by the citizens of this city, now almost clean left off and forsaken? I overpass it, for by the means of closing in the common grounds our archers, for want of room to shoot abroad, creep into bowling alleys and ordinary dicing houses nearer home, where they have room enough to hazard their money at unlawful games, and there I leave them to take their pleasure."

James I. endeavoured to remedy this state of things by appointing a Royal Commission for surveying the fields formerly used for archery practice adjacent to the city of London, or within a compass of two miles, and "reducing the same to such order and state for the archers as they

were in the reign of Henry the Eighth." Where they found any encroachments they were empowered to remove hedges, fill up ditches, and level the banks. The commission recited the statutes, ordinances, and proclamations made of old time for the encouragement and maintenance of archery, and authorised the commissioners to take measures for the prevention of enclosures in the future of any lands formerly used for archery practice.

This commission was re-appointed in the reign of Charles I., and the archery societies still in existence continued for more than a century afterwards to make occasional surveys on the north side of London to enforce such old enactments concerning enclosures of grounds used for archery practice. So late as 1746 a cowkeeper at Hoxton, named Pitfield (whose name is preserved in a street in that neighbourhood), was compelled to re-erect a butt which he had removed, in commemoration of which renewal the Artillery Company caused it to be inscribed with the words: "Pitfield's Repentance," as a warning to others. The last survey was made in 1786, when it had long become clear that the practice of archery was doomed to extinction by the in-

crease of population in every direction around London, and the consequent multiplication of enclosures.

Notices of archery are much fewer in Scottish annals than in those of England, but the bow was used over the border as well as in this country, and an Act of the Scottish Parliament, passed in 1424, shows that similar measures to those from time to time enacted by the English Parliament were in force among the subjects of the Stuarts. By this statute it is enacted, "That all men train themselves to be archers, from they be twelve years of age, and that in each ten pounds worth of land there be made bow marks, and specially near to parish churches, wherein upon holy days men may come, and at the least shoot thrice about, and have usage of archery, and whosoever shall use not the said archery, the lord of the land shall raise of him a wether; and if the lord raise not the said penalty, the King's sheriff or his ministers shall raise it to the King."

Feats of archery are frequent incidents in the old English ballads and romances, and some of those attributed to the famous outlaw of Sherwood Forest, Robin Hood, are of a very

marvellous, not to say incredible, character. The ballad of "Chevy Chase," relating to the battle of Otterbourne, and that recording the lawless and daring exploits of the Cumbrian outlaws, Adam Bell, Clym of the Cleugh, and William of Cloudeslie, are quite worthy, from this point of view, of comparison with those of Robin Hood, Little John, Friar Tuck, Will Scarlet, and other prowlers of the forests of the north Midlands. Adam Bell and his two companions lurked in the fastnesses of Ingleton Forest, which stretched from Carlisle to Penrith, and in a desperate effort to avoid capture slew the sheriff, the Mayor of Carlisle, and all the constables, and if the narrator of the fight is to be believed :—

"The bailies and the beadles both,
And the sergeants of the law,
And forty fosters of the fee,
These outlaws had yslaw."

"Fosters of the fee" means the King's foresters, and "yslaw" is mediæval, perhaps Cumbrian, English for "slain." The three outlaws are said to have sued for pardon to the King, who, not having heard of their worst and most recent defiance of the law, and being besought by the Queen to grant their prayer, was prevailed upon

to do so. But he had no sooner pledged his word for their pardon than messengers arrived from Carlisle with the news of the havoc they had wrought among the guardians of order. The King would not withdraw his pardon, though greatly incensed; and having been informed of their great prowess with the bow, he

“Called his best archers,
To the butts with him to go;
‘I will see these fellows shoot,’ he said,
‘In the north hath wrought this woe.’”

The King’s archers shot at the butts with skill and success, but William of Cloudeslie scornfully regarded their marks, and sat up a hazel rod, which he cleft in two with an arrow at the first flight. The King pronounced him the best archer he had ever seen, and the outlaw proceeded to surpass his first feat by striking an apple off the head of his son, a boy of seven years old. The spectators looked on in fear and horror:—

“And when him ready to shoot,
There was many a weeping ee.
But Cloudeslie cleft the apple in two,
That many a man might see:
‘Over God’s forbode,’ said the King,
‘That thou should shoot at me.’”

The similarity of this feat to the performance of

William Tell at Altorf, which is now generally regarded as a myth, will be recognised at once by the reader.

Strutt says, in his "Sports and Pastimes of the People of England," that "if we were to judge of the merits of the ancient bowmen from the practice of archery as it is exercised at the present day, these poetical eulogiums would appear to be entirely fictitious. There are no such distances now assigned for the marks as are mentioned before, nor such precision, even at short lengths, in the direction of the arrows." Some of the old Robin Hood ballads make the famous outlaw send a shaft a measured mile ; but such statements may be passed over with a smile of incredulity. Drayton relates that an English archer killed a French soldier at the battle of Agincourt, pinning his body to a tree at two hundred and forty yards ; and Shakespeare, who was evidently well read in the old chronicles, says "a good archer would clap in the clout at twelve score, and carry a forehand shaft at fourteen and fourteen-and-a-half."

The Act of Henry VIII. provides that no person over twenty-four years of age should shoot at any mark at less than two hundred and twenty

yards distance. Strutt remarks on this that few, if any, of the modern archers, in shooting at a mark, exceed the distance of eighty or a hundred yards, or, in long shooting, reach four hundred yards. "I have seen," he says, "the gentlemen who practise archery in the vicinity of London repeatedly shoot from end to end, and not touch the target with an arrow, and for the space of several hours without lodging one in the circle of gold, about six inches diameter, in the centre of the target: this, indeed, is so seldom done that one is led to think, when it happens, it is rather the effect of chance than of skill." Writing in 1800, he adds:—"I remember about four or five years back, at a meeting of the Society of Archers, in their ground near Bedford Square, the Turkish Ambassador paid them a visit, and complained that the enclosure was by no means sufficiently extensive for a long shot; he therefore went into the adjacent fields to show his dexterity, where I saw him shoot several arrows more than double the length of the archery ground, and his longest shot fell upwards of four hundred and eighty yards from his standing. . . . This distance rather exceeds the length our rhymist has given to the wands set up by Cloudeslie and

his companions ; but then we are to recollect they shot with vast precision to that distance, which the Ambassador did not ; he had no mark, and his arrows fell exceedingly wide of each other."

The dramas of the Elizabethan period, especially those of Shakespeare, Jonson, Heywood, Webster, and Peele, abound in similes and allusions drawn from the practice of archery ; and in the first-named dramatist there are numerous indications that he had been a diligent reader of Ascham's "Toxophilus," a treatise on the subject, which had been published about half a century before he commenced the writing of his plays. Drayton, among his descriptions of rural scenes and sports in the "Polyolbion," sings the praises of Robin Hood and his followers, "all clad in Lincoln green," in connection with Sherwood Forest, not forgetting to mention their traditional skill in the use of the long-bow. He tells his readers that—

"All made of Spanish yew, their bows were wondrous strong ;
They not an arrow drew, but was a cloth yard long.

Of archery they had the very perfect craft,
With broad arrow, or but, or prick, or roving shaft,
At marks full forty score, they used to prick, and rove,
Yet higher than the breast, for compass never strove ;
Yet at the farthest mark a foot could hardly win ;
At long buts, short, and hoyles, each one could cleave the
pin.

Their arrows finely paired, for timber and for feather,
With birch and brazil pieced, to fly in any weather ;
And shot they with the round, the square, or forked pile,
The loose gave such a twang as might be heard a mile.
And of these archers brave there was not any one ;
But he could kill a deer his swiftest speed upon."

In connection with this picture of the outlaw-archers of Sherwood Forest, it may be remarked that Drayton probably drew upon the old ballads for the description, for he gives the number of the "merrie men" as it is given in one of them, which adds :—

"With them they had an hundred bows,
The strings were well ydight ;
An hundred sheaves of arrows good,
With heads burnished full bright ;
And every arrow an ell long,
With peacock all ydight,
And nocked they were with white silk,
It was a seemly sight."

Strutt remarks on this that "the adornment of the arrows with peacocks' feathers is not to be considered as a mere poetical flourish, for we have sufficient testimony that such plumage was actually used," and a note to the passage gives an entry in the accounts of Edward II., preserved in the Cotton MSS., of "twelve arrows plumed with peacocks' feathers, bought for the King, twelve pence."

The memory of the old days of archery in England is preserved in little more at the present time than the saying of "drawing the long-bow," applied to instances of mendacity, or gross exaggeration of the kind associated with the mythical Baron Munchausen. Here and there, however, we are reminded of the old use of the bow in a lingering butt, or locality named after one, as Newington Butts, in the southern suburbs of London. There we have only the name remaining, as in many other parts of England there are fields known as the Butts, and lanes in or near old towns and villages bearing the name of Butts Lane. But not far from the old priory church of Bridlington, in a field near the road leading to the Quay, there are two of the old butts still remaining. It is to be hoped that they will long remain to remind us of the days of long ago, and of the sports and pastimes of old England.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

Facts About Falconry.

THE noble sport of hawking, or falconry as it is called, was introduced into Europe from the East. There is nothing upon record to prove that it was one of the practices of times remotely ancient, although this may indeed have been so. We first find distinct proof of the existence of hawking in early days in the works of Firmicus, who lived and wrote in the middle of the fourth century. The English historian known as Florence of Worcester mentions falconers among the persons whom King Alfred took under his patronage for their proficiency in arts and pursuits worthy of encouragement, and there is still to be seen a treatise which deals in metre with the sport; this work is attributed to the pen of Edward the Confessor. Thus from the tumultuous days of the Heptarchy to the Conquest we find hawking a favourite national pastime, nor did the Conquest itself create any difference in this respect, for doubtless the nobles of Normandy had flown their hawks at many a soaring heron before they were let loose by the

Conqueror upon England. At any rate Domesday Book affords us sufficient and very interesting evidence of the importance of the sport a few years after the invasion. In some cases it is in the description of localities, aeries or breeding places for hawks being mentioned. In about seventeen entries this is the case, and the counties particularly noted for the encouragement of the sport were Cheshire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Lancashire, and Worcestershire. In other places in the same record we find the providing of a hawk occasionally the condition of tenure, and sometimes it was optional to pay instead the then large sum of ten pounds. This high estimation of the sport and the birds continued. A tenant of Henry II. paid his rent in three hawks and three gerfalcons. Probably all the kings of mediæval England had as a matter of course hawks and mews in their establishments. We know John had his hawks, and Henry III. likewise, the latter sending to the King of Norway for birds. The hawks of Norway must have had some special value, for we find in Domesday Book that at Worcester a Norway hawk was fixed as a rent. One Roger Belet mightily displeased King Henry III. by

omitting some injunction concerning a "sparhawk," and he was punished by being deprived of his rents and lands in Bagshot. Edward III. made it felony to steal a hawk, that is, the crime was punishable by death; while if any person took its eggs, even in his own grounds, he might be imprisoned for a year and a day, in addition to a fine. Queen Bess, who was a lover of the sport herself, commuted this time to three months, but the offender, at the end of the term, was to provide surety for good behaviour for seven years, and to remain in prison till his surety was found. Edward III., old Froissart relates, took into France with him his hawks in the charge of thirty mounted falconers. James I. was remarkably fond of hawking, and it continued to be practised until the reign of Charles II. The first English printed treatise on the subject is the "Book of St. Albans" (1481) by Juliana Berners, Abbess of Sopwell, and of which Dibdin, in "Bibliomania," discourses in so enthusiastic a vein. Hawking may be said to have nearly died out with the Commonwealth; the lessening leisure of the good folk who had been wont to indulge in the sport may be one reason, but perhaps it was mainly on account of the

rapidly increasing enclosure of the lands. Certainly this militated against any great success in the various attempts which have been made to revive falconry at different times. George, Earl of Oxford, who died in 1791, and Colonel Thornton, of Yorkshire, at about the juncture of the centuries, Sir John Sebright a little later, and others have each endeavoured to make the pastime again an institution of Merrie England; and there are now (1899) fair prospects of the noble old sport becoming quite an "institution," for some years ago the "Old Hawking Club" was revived, and it is in a flourishing condition. The Hon. Gerald Lascelles is the Hon. Sec., and in a communication to the *Field* of April 30th, 1898, he gave the following as the "bag" for the season up to that date: rooks, 177; partridges, 179; sea-gulls, 10; rabbits, 105; various, 27; total, 498. The gulls mentioned were all killed by one notable tiercel, and the "sundries" included 11 waterhens, taken by the same goshawk that killed the 105 rabbits, 6 larks, 2 pheasants, a kestrel, and a turtle-dove.

Thus much as a brief outline of the history of hawking as a national pastime. We will now leave our books, fairly well informed on the

subject, and transplant ourselves into mediæval days—into, say, some fenny district, where the heron abounds. Before we further discuss the sport, let us then picture to ourselves a hawking scene. Here are ladies on horseback in neat-fitting costumes, but nothing that seems to tell of other than an ordinary riding excursion, except it be the strong gloves which cover their left hand. We soon see the reason of this. Upon each dainty wrist is perched a stately-standing bird, with a hood covering his eyes. The gentlemen of the party, some mounted, some on foot, have also hawks upon their fists, and attendants carry circular boards upon which stand some half-dozen falcons. A few dogs to beat the ground are running here and there. As we look a heron is seen to rise from that patch of sedge before us. Up and up she rises with not ungraceful flight, though those long legs of hers stretching out behind in the manner made familiar to us by the now ubiquitous drawings of the Chinese, take sadly from the beauty of the effect. Away she sails with the west wind, becoming smaller and smaller, when one of the falconers takes the hood from his hawk, and he eagerly mounts into the

air. For a brief moment or two he circles round, when, having ascertained with a marvellous accuracy the strength of the breeze, and his piercing eye having descried the speeding heron, he ascends in what is apparently an aimless manner to the more elevated regions. His action is not what we had expected from a bird of such acknowledged keen sagacity. He rises higher, far to the east of the bird he is wanted to kill—seemingly he has an idea of something in another direction—he has now apparently forgotten all about the heron, for he has risen high above her level, though still far to the east. The hawk is now a very small object in the blue sky, and the novice merely contents himself with admiring its powers of flight when, lo ! they are in a second further wonderfully displayed. With a powerful stroke or two the hawk has flown westward on the wind—is now as immediately over the quarry as a mathematical plumbline—is now in the flash of an eye down like a bullet upon the heron—and now they come down with a swoop, the sharp claws of the victorious hawk deep in the body of the wailing quarry. Just another sketch before we leave this party of the Middle Ages. A heron is flying at a low elevation by us ; a hawk is

loosed, and at once starts in pursuit. The heron, instinctively aware of all the terrible advantages of her adversary, yet makes a gallant struggle; she strives to keep above him. Yet he soon is above her—he strikes and misses—they circle and rise—he is again above. This time he will descend more truly, but the heron will look her foe in the face—her pointed beak turns upwards towards him as he stoops—to conquer? Nay, for the heron's bill is buried like a lance in his body, and he is dead. So they fall to the ground, and if our falconer has a spark of English feeling he will bid the attendant let the heron loose for her courage—that is if her neck be not broken.

It is an interesting natural history and literary fact that exact observation of the *modus operandi* of herons and hawks in their aerial combats has led to the clear elucidation of a much disputed passage in *Hamlet*. In the *Field* for November 30th, 1893, "A Norfolk rector" gave a graphic account of an encounter between two herons and a sparrow-hawk, and the herons were spoken of as "two old Harnsers." That was, and still is, the common name for herons in Norfolk, and, of course, it is only a corruption of

the old French word *Heroncel*, the *Heronsew* of Chaucer, and the "Hernshaw" of Shakespeare's day, all three meaning the same word—heron—as denoting the bird of that name. In the first folio edition of Shakespeare's works (1623), the passage referred to from *Hamlet* is as follows :—

Hamlet. "I am but mad North, North-West; when Winde is Southerly. I knowe a Hawke from a Handsaw." Act ii., Sc. 2.

That is generally accepted reading of all our later authoritative editions of the play, but its manifest absurdity has not escaped the critical eye of the vast army of Shakespearian commentators. The text of the folio edition of 1623 was notoriously corrupt, and several emendations of the passage have been suggested, not only by scholarly critics but by actors. For instance, there was Charles Kean, who put a perfectly withering look on (with the forefinger sardonically pointed perilously near the bridge of his nose), and great emphasis on the *I*, thus :—

"*I* know a hawk from a handsaw."

Phelps was equally knowing with :—

"I know a *hawk* from a handsaw."

Then came the appalling Barry Sullivan with :—

"*I* know a hawk from a heron—*Pshaw!*"

The scorn which Barry crowded into that "pshaw"—and which he flung into the faces of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern as he turned on his heel with a lordly snap of his fingers—was rather ludicrous than otherwise. And yet that actor had got nearer to the true intent of Shakespeare's meaning than all his predecessors.

There is no doubt that Shakespeare, who was of course an adept in the mysteries of falconry, knew what he was saying when he made Hamlet use the word "heronsew" or "hernshaw," or, as the Norfolk yokel of to-day says, "harnser," and for reasons which I shall explain by reference to a passage in the writings of a famous English classic, of the first half of the seventeenth century, who also knew something about hawking. I refer to Thomas Fuller. In one of his "Lives," in *Abel Redivivus*, he contrasts the style of controversy adopted by a Romish writer engaged in a theological wrestle with a Protestant champion (Berengar, if I mistake not), and goes on to say that when hard pressed he adopted the ruse of the heron pursued in a southerly wind by the hawk, which soared above the hawk and "sliced" upon it, thus getting away "under cover of the vordure."

Detailed explanation is unnecessary, but the reader will grasp the meaning of Hamlet when he claimed to be not so mad but he could tell a hawk from a heron when they were coming to close quarters in the air, and when the wind was "southerly."

We will now observe more minutely the hawks which this stout puff-shouldered esquire is bearing. We see they have bells about their legs, some of silver, and as the hawks stir or fly a very musical effect is produced. If we were to ask the falconer where the best bells were made, he would tell us that Milan and Dort were the most celebrated for their manufacture. The hawks were held by means of leathern straps called "Jesses," which could be loosened at a moment's notice.

Well, we will now leave the party to pursue their sport, and in a few lines discuss the different kinds of hawks. The peregrine was the most important, and is called, says a quaint writer, Turbervile, by that name for three reasons, "first, because a man cannot find, nor ever yet did any man, Christian or Heathen, find their eyrie in any region; so as it may well be thought that for that occasion they have

achieved and gotten that name and term of peregrine or haggart falcons, as if a man would call them pilgrims or forainers." The second reason is because they wander much, the third, because the term "doth many times import an honourable and choice matter had in great regard." "In the language of falconry," says Yarrell, "the female peregrine is exclusively called the falcon," but the gerfalcon is another variety, bold and fierce. The hobby is the second smallest of the falcons, and used for flying at small birds, the smallest being the merlin. The hobby is probably the swiftest of all the hawk tribe, but it lacks perseverance, and is rather lazy. The kestrel has the most telescopic eye of any of its kind. The sparrow-hawk and the kite were considered vermin, though their habits are similar to those of the most approved species. A kite will remain to be killed rather than relinquish a prey once seized. Hawks were also, in ancient days, variously denominated the falcon gentil, the tersil gentil, the tersil lestour, the lanner, and the prices of these respectively in the reign of Edward III. were 20s., 10s., and the other two 6s. 8d. each. In the reign of Henry VIII. two falcons and a

goshawk were worth £3, and five falcons and a tersil £8. In 1619 a goshawk and a tersil brought 100 marks.

Here our chat comes to an end; let us, however, conclude by a few lines from an old author, and which give a good idea of the prevalency of hawking customs as well as of church discipline—

“Into the churche then comes another sot
Without devotion, fretting up and down
All to be seen and show his gaudy coat,
With Sparrow-hawk on his fist, or falcon,
Or else a Cuckoo; wearing out his shoes,
Before the altar up and down he'll wander,
Having no more devotion than a gander.”

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

Early Horticulture in England.

IT is generally, but erroneously, believed that little horticultural skill prevailed in this country before the sixteenth century. Indeed, we have both read and heard it deliberately stated that the first apple orchard was planted in Sussex in the fifteenth century, and that cherries were first grown in Kent at a somewhat later period. Mr. Loudon, in 1835, stated that we have no proof that cherries were grown in England at the time of the Norman Conquest, or for some centuries after it. It is evident that the first rudiments of horticultural science must have been introduced into this country by the Romans, and the writings of Pliny show us that the fruits cultivated by that people in the zenith of their rule included almost all those now in culture in Europe, with the exception of the orange, pine apple, gooseberry, currant, and raspberry. Even in those early days we have the testimony of Tacitus, that the soil and climate of Britain were "very fit for all kinds of fruit trees, except the vine and the olive, and for all plants and edible vegetables, except a few

which are peculiar to hotter climates." If this observation does not prove that the experiment had been widely tried, it supports the conjecture that it was not long before the Roman settlers introduced those fruits which they were accustomed to consume in their own country, and which were not found indigenous in this. Pliny states explicitly that cherries were planted in Britain about the middle of the first century, they having been brought from Pontus to Italy by Lucullus one hundred and twenty years previously. Notwithstanding the opinion of Tacitus that our climate was not suited to the vine, it was introduced by the Romans in the third century, and that its culture was not afterwards abandoned is proved by Bede's notice of vineyards in the eighth century. Whatever may have been the amount of horticultural knowledge diffused in Britain during the period of the Roman occupation, there can be no reasonable doubt that much of it was lost amidst the anarchy and devastation which succeeded the exodus of the legions. Nature would in a great measure provide against the entire destruction of the trees and plants which they had imported, but the science of gardening would gradually be forgotten.

When England became more settled, horticulture no doubt revived with the other occupations of peace, for we know that the Saxons had their herb gardens, whence our term orchard. A contemporary poem tells us that the fatal battle on the hill at Hastings was fought near "the hoar apple tree." The existence of an apple garden at Nottingham is recorded in the Domesday Book; while *horti* and *hortuli*—gardens and little gardens—are frequently mentioned in that invaluable record. It must be admitted, however, that little or nothing is known of the state of horticulture in this country prior to the Norman invasion; and when after that event we begin to find traces of horticultural knowledge among the monastic writers, it is evident from the names applied to many fruits, that France supplied those that were held in most esteem during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Excepting a notice by William of Malmesbury relative to the culture of the vine, the earliest English writer who has treated of horticulture is Alexander Necham, who was master of the Grammar School at St. Albans, and afterwards Abbot of Cirencester. He was born about the year 1157, and died in the year 1217. His valuable and little-known work, "De

Naturis Rerum," is a sort of common-place book, wherein he entered, under various heads, the gleanings of his secular and theological reading. In this book, which has been published with the sanction of the Master of the Rolls, he describes what "a noble garden" should contain, and among the fruits mentions the pear of St. Regle, a fruit of French origin and name, which was extensively cultivated in this country during the thirteenth century. Besides this pear, he enumerates apples, chestnuts, peaches, citrons, almonds, pomegranates, and figs. A doubt may be felt as to the cultivation of the pomegranate or citron, even in the most scientific claustral garden in England, during the latter half of the twelfth century. But it should be remembered that both had been growing in Italy and the South of France from the time of the Romans, and that specimens may have been introduced as curiosities by some one or other of the travelled or alien churchmen of Necham's time. We know that the early abbots of St. Albans frequently visited Italy on the affairs of their house, and that they may have imported from thence horticultural varieties for the garden, just as they were accustomed to bring over rarities in art for

the decoration of their church. The fig orchard adjoining the remains of the archiepiscopal palace at West Tarring, in Sussex, was raised from some old stocks in the rectory garden, said to have been imported from Fecamp, and planted by Archbishop Thomas Becket, who is known to have frequently resided at Tarring; and it is noteworthy that his favourite flower, the lily of the valley, still flourishes there in abundance.

There is no reason to suppose that the chestnut, even though not indigenous, a fact by no means certain, did not grow in this country subsequent to Roman times. The same remark applies to the peach, almond, and fig. The first of these fruits was grown as far north as St. Gall in the time of Charlemagne, and was certainly planted in the palace garden at Westminster as early as the year 1276. Although Necham does not name them as desirable in a "noble garden," he mentions in another place cherries and mulberries, with this remark, "They and other soft fruits should be taken on an empty stomach, and not after a meal." Among soft fruits he reckoned apples. His notion that pears unless cooked were cold and indigestible was shared by Pliny. The opinion was due probably in both cases to

the fact that the most common varieties of that fruit were adapted chiefly to culinary purposes. The horticultural skill of the monks of the Cistercian monastery at Wardon, in Bedfordshire, a foundation dating from 1135, produced at some early, but uncertain, time a baking variety of the pear. It bore, and still bears, the name of their house ; was figured on their armorial escutcheon, as proved by existing seals ; and supplied the contents of those Wardon pies so often mentioned in descriptions of banquets, and which so many of our historical novelists have represented as huge pasties of venison, or other meat suited to the digestive capacities of gigantic wardens of feudal days. It is time, in justice to these reverend gardeners, that this popular error should be exploded. Their application to horticultural pursuits, even up to the Dissolution, is honourably attested by the survey of their monastery after that event. It mentions the great and little vineyards, two orchards, doubtless the same in which the Wardon pear was first raised, and a hop garden.

From the time of Henry II. the great rolls of the Exchequer are full of entries respecting the English vineyards, and although after that mon-

arch's acquisition of Guienne in right of his consort, Eleanor of Aquitaine, the manufacture of wine in this country may have been checked by the importation of a more generous product from Bordeaux, still wine, whatever may have been its quality, continued to be made in many a vineyard in England even so late as the sixteenth century. The accounts of the keeper of the vineyard at Windsor Castle, in the reign of the third Edward, detail every operation from planting, grafting, and manuring, until the fruit was pressed, casks made or repaired, and the wine barrelled. For some time the superintendence of the Windsor vineyard was in the hands of one Stephen de Bordeaux, who had, doubtless, been summoned from Guienne to impart to the English gardeners the method of culture practised by the vine dressers of the Garonne. It was part of the economy of the Windsor vineyard, as of others, to make nearly as much verjuice as wine, a circumstance which may perhaps indicate the pooriness of the vintage. Verjuice was much used in the sauces and other culinary preparations of those times, and appears to have been prepared either from the juice of the grape, from vine leaves, or from sorrel.

Quinces and medlars are frequently mentioned in the Royal Household accounts of the thirteenth century. In 1292 the former were sold at the rate of four shillings per 100. From the same source we learn that peach-trees were planted in the royal garden at Westminster in 1276. The apricot and nectarine are mentioned by Lawson, who wrote in 1618, as flourishing in England during the fifteenth century. The almond is mentioned by Necham, but we may reasonably assume that it was then cultivated principally as an ornamental tree, and that the large quantities of this nut eaten during Lent in ancient days were imported from the south of Europe. It is worthy of notice that Necham speaks of the date palm, a tree which appears to have been cultivated in England as early as the fifteenth century. As we have seen, the cherry is stated by Pliny to have been planted in England in the first century, and is included by Necham in his list of fruit trees. There is preserved in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster an account rendered by the bailiff of Henri de Laci, Earl of Lincoln, of the profits arising from the earl's garden at Holborn, in the suburbs of London, during an early year in the thirteenth century. From this document

we learn that apples, pears, large nuts, and cherries were grown in sufficient quantities not only to supply the earl's table, but also to yield a profit by their sale. The comparatively large sum of £9 2s. 3d. in money of that time, equal to about £130 of our currency, was received in one year from the sale of these fruits alone. The vegetables grown in this garden were beans, onions, garlic, leeks, and some others which are not specifically named. Hemp was also grown there, and some description of plant which yielded verjuice—possibly sorrel. Cuttings of the vine were sold, from which it may be inferred that the earl's grapes were held in some estimation. The stock purchased for this garden comprised cuttings or sets of the following varieties of pear-trees, viz., two of the St. Reglé, two of the St. Martin, five of the Caillon, and three of the Pesse Pucelle. The only flowers named are roses, of which a quantity was sold, producing 3s. 2d. The present writer possesses the original deed by which John Lucas, of Swanscombe, Kent, in the nineteenth year of Edward III., gave a piece of land called "the cherry garden," in that parish for the maintenance of a chantry priest at Greenhithe.

The mulberry, or "more tree" as it was called in the fifteenth century, seems to have been grown in England from a very remote period, and is included in Necham's list of desirable fruits. The earliest notice of the gooseberry appears in the roll of royal expenses for 1276, when some plants were purchased for the King's garden at Westminster; but as it is an indigenous fruit, we may infer that it was known at a far more remote period, though probably only in its wild state. Strawberries and raspberries rarely occur in the early accounts, owing probably to the fact that they were not cultivated in gardens, and known only as wild fruits. Strawberries appear once in the Household Roll of the expenses of the Countess of Leicester for the year 1265. This plant does not seem to have been much grown, even at the end of the sixteenth century. Lawson speaks of the roots of trees in his model orchard being powdered with strawberries—red, white, and green. Raspberries, barberries, and currants he describes as grown in borders. Strawberries and raspberries being indigenous would be found plentifully in the woods in ancient times, and thence brought to market, as they are at the present day in Southern Europe.

The large nuts mentioned as growing in the Earl of Lincoln's garden at Holborn were probably walnuts, for though the exact period of the introduction of this nut is not known, it was generally cultivated as early as the middle of the fifteenth century, and the wood of the tree was then known as "masere"; whence probably the name "mazer" given to the wooden bowls so much prized at this period. In the early days nuts were cultivated in England in order to obtain the oil. It was estimated by a writer of the early part of the fourteenth century that one quarter of nuts ought to yield four gallons of oil, but he does not specify any particular sort of nut.

Little can be said with certainty respecting the variety of culinary vegetables cultivated in England before the fifteenth century. The cabbage tribe was undoubtedly well known in the earliest times, and very generally reared during the Middle Ages. The pea and bean were grown in the thirteenth century, the latter being among the products of the Earl of Lincoln's garden in Holborn. The chief esculent root was probably beet, which is mentioned by Necham. Onions, garlic, and leeks appear to have been the only alliaceous plants in use before

the year 1400. The pot and sweet herbs cultivated and used from a remote period appear to have been the same as those in use in the seventeenth century. Of salads, the lettuce, rocket, mustard, water cress, and hop are noted by Necham. His mention of the latter plant somewhat rudely dispels our belief in the old jingle which says—

“Hops, reformation, carp, and beer,
Came into England in one year.”

Indeed it is highly probable that the hop is an indigenous plant, and there is a very strong presumption that its properties were known to those who brewed beer at a very early period. The words ale and beer are now often used indifferently to signify fermented drink made from malt; but formerly there was a broad and well understood difference between them. Ale was a sweet drink made without hops or other bitter herbs. Beer was a similar liquor flavoured with hops. In the Latin account rolls of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, “*cerevisia*,” when it stands alone, seems to mean sweet ale; “*cerevisia hummulina*,” hopped beer. In the Hundred Court of Hythe in 1415, presentments were made against certain women who

had brewed "*cerevisia et bere*" contrary to assize. And in a document relating to the city of Rochester there is, under the year 1420, an entry of "Ijs paid for 16 galonys of bere et ale."

Necham says, "a noble garden" should be arrayed with roses, lilies, sunflowers, violets, and poppies; he mentions also the narcissus. The rose seems to have been cultivated from the most remote time. Early in the thirteenth century we find King John sending a wreath of roses to his lady, *par amours*, at Ditton. Roses and lilies were among the plants bought for the King's garden at Westminster in 1276. The annual payment of a rose is one of the commonest species of quit-rent mentioned in ancient conveyances. In the thirteenth century hundreds of manors from Cumberland to Cornwall were held by the delivery of a red or white rose on some specified festival. The extent to which the cultivation of this flower had been carried between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries may be estimated by the varieties alluded to by Lawson. They are red, velvet, damask, double, and double-double Provence roses; the single and double sweet musk rose, and the single and double white

rose. The Provence rose was probably first imported in the fifteenth century, when the occupation of France by the English may be conjectured to have caused the introduction of many additional varieties of fruits and flowers. The marriage of Henry VI. with Marguerite, the loving daughter of Anjou, may be regarded also as an event likely to have brought the Provence rose into England.

Of all the flowers known to our ancestors, the gilly flower, or clove pink, was the commonest, and to a certain extent the most valued. Mr. Loudon says that the cruelties of the Duke of Alva in 1567 were the occasion of our receiving through the Flemish weavers gilly flowers, carnations, and Provence roses. But we know that the gilly flower had been cultivated and valued in England centuries before. Like the rose it was frequently used as a quit-rent. The manor of Alkerden, in Kent, has been held from the Crown since the year 1250, by the annual delivery of a clove pink. At the end of the sixteenth century, Lawson, who terms it the king of all flowers, except the rose, boasted that he had gilly flowers "of nine or ten several colours, and the same as big as roses. Of all flowers (save the damask rose) they

are the most pleasant to sight and smell. Their use is much in ornament, and comforting the spirits by the sense of smelling." There was a variety known in early times as the wall-gilly flower, or bee flower, because of its growing on walls and being good for bees. Another flower of common growth in mediæval orchards and gardens was the pervinke or periwinkle. As this plant will blossom well under the shade of trees or lofty walls, it was well adapted to ornament and brighten the securely enclosed and possibly sombre gardens of early times.

Our ancestors seem to have been very fond of the greensward, and any resemblance to modern flower beds is rarely seen in the illustrations of old MSS. ; where flowers are represented as so planted, they are generally surrounded by a low wattled fence. The *erbour* or arbour of the thirteenth century was very similar to that of the present day. An apiary was generally attached to a mediæval garden, and formed part of the stock, which, according to the usage of early days, was sometimes let out to farm.

The following list of fruits, flowers, and vegetables growing in the grounds of the great Continental monastery of St. Gall is taken from the

existing twelfth century copy of a survey made in the year 873, when the "kitchen garden" contained beds of onions, garlic, leeks, shallots, celery, parsley, coriander, chervil, dill, lettuce, poppy, savoury, radishes, parsnips, carrots, cabbages, beet, and corn cockle. In what was termed the physic garden we find the kidney bean, savoy, rose, water cress, cummin, lovage, fennel, tansy, white lily, sage, rue, corn flag, *pulegium* or penny royal, *menta* or peppermint, and rosemary. The burial-ground of the good monks and canons was planted with the following useful trees—apple, pear, plum, pine, medlar, laurel, chestnut, fig, quince, peach, hazel nut, almond, mulberry, and walnut.

J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.

A Good Time for Loose Characters.

THIEVES and other loose characters in the olden time enjoyed to some extent greater privileges than they do at the present day. Fairs in the Middle Ages were a great institution, and every encouragement was given to traders and others to make them popular with all sorts and conditions of people. The fairs at Newcastle-on-Tyne are of considerable antiquity, and from the stately tower of St. Nicholas' Church on the eve of the fairs rang out the sounds of the "thief bell" as a signal that suspicious characters might repair to the town, and remain unmolested for crimes previously committed as long as the fair lasted. A Court of Pie Poudre was held for trying offences committed during the fair.

In several places in this country merry peals of bells are rung the night before the fairs. At Epworth and Louth in Lincolnshire the custom is maintained.

Christmastide at York in bygone ages was

a period of freedom for questionable men and women. The Sheriffs after attending mass proceeded to the Pillory in the Pavement, and after the blowing of a brazen horn, a proclamation was made, and part of it was as follows: "We command that all manner of thieves, dice-players,



THE SHERIFFS' HORN, YORK.

and all other unthrifty folk, be welcome to the town, whether they come late or early, at the reverence of the high feast of Yoole, till the twelve days be passed."

The Sheriffs' horn finds a place in the York

Museum, and engraved on it is the following inscription :—

“This Ancient Horn
used from Time immemorial as the Symbol
by which the Sheriffs of the City of York
Transferred their Office to their Successors
was presented to
the Yorkshire Philosophical Society
By
Edmund Horsfall Roper, Esq. (late Sheriff)
and
William North, Esq. (present Sheriff)
of the City of York,
the ancient Custom having been
By Act of Parliament superseded
Nov., A.D. 1839.”

The workmanship is extremely plain, and the horn appears to have been made for use and not for ornament. It presents a strange contrast to the richly decorated and carved Horn of Ulphas preserved in York Minster, and which with other Charter Horns is fully described in our “Old Church Lore.” Both horns have played an important part in old-time usages.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

Parish Passports.

WE obtain a curious picture of old English life from a couple of documents addressed to the parish officials of Colyton, Devonshire, in the days of Charles II. The first is a petition from an orphan girl of Sidbury asking permission to “be and abide” as an apprentice:—

“To the Churchwardens and other officials of ye P’ish of Culliton, there:—

Whereas, the bearer of this, our certificate, Elizabeth Cole, being an orphan and under age, is desirous to bee and abide with Jane, the wife of William Cole of Culliforde, within ye P’ish of Culliton, for and during ye space of five years, for her to be taught and instructed in the making of *bone-lace* for her future better livelihood;—now know yee, that we, the present vicar, churchwardens, and overseers of ye Poore of Sidbury, doe owne her the said Elizabeth to be an inhabitant of the said P’ish, and doe hereby for ourselves, and our successors, covenant and promise to and with you the present churchwardens and overseers of ye Poore of ye P’ish of Culliton and your successors for ye time being, to receive the said Elizabeth again single into ye said P’ish of Sidbury if at any time within the same five yeares she becom or be likely to becom chargeable to ye said P’ish. Witness our hands the tenth day of June in ye 29 year of the reigne of King Charles the Second over England &c., Anno Domino 1677.—(Signed by the vicar, churchwardens, and overseers of Sidbury).”

It will be seen that she might be sent back to Sidbury if she were likely to become chargeable to the parish of Colyton, if she had not married, within five years from the date of the foregoing agreement. If a man desired to travel in the days of old, even in his own country, from one town to another, he had to be armed with a license. The following is a copy of one from the parish authorities of Beaminster in Dorset to those of Colyton :—

“March 20, 1677-8. These are to give you to understand yt Hugh Sugar of ye parish of Beminster in ye county of Dorset, Locksmith, is desirous for his best advantage to travell abroad, and is now in your Towne or Parish of Cullyton, abiding, and for your discharge, we will at any time or occasion, receive him into our Towne again, acknowledging him to be our parishioner. He is of sober life and conversation. Given under our hands and seals—This twentyth day of March in the year of our Lord 1677—(Singed by the parish officials as before).”

It is difficult for us to fully realise the liberties gained by our countrymen since Stuart times. The document is an excellent testimonial to the character of a workman of a bygone age.

House Marks and Signs in the Olden Time.

THE simple and convenient plan of numbering houses in streets was commenced in London in June, 1764. Some houses situated in New Burlington Street were the first to bear a number, and next in order were the dwellings in Lincoln's Inn Fields; the fashion soon spread over the Metropolis, and was adopted in the larger English towns.

Finding a business house in London in the days of old was often attended with difficulty, when only signs indicated the place. Gay, in his "Trivia," tells us:—

"Oft the peasant with imploring face
Bewildered, trudges on from place to place,
He dwells on every sign with stupid gaze,
Enters the narrow alley's doubtful maze,
Tries every winding court and street in vain,
And doubles o'er his weary steps again."

Directions in letters had to be fully and clearly given. James Tilbrogh, a noted German doctor, advertised his house as being "Over against the New Exchange in Bedford Street, at the sign of

the 'Peacock,' where you will see at night two candles burning within one of the chambers, before the balcony, and a lanthorn with a candle in it upon the balcony." The following advertisement is copied from Addison's *Spectator*:—"To be let Newbury House, in St. James's Park, next door but one to Lady Oxford's, having two balls at the gate and iron rails before the door," etc.

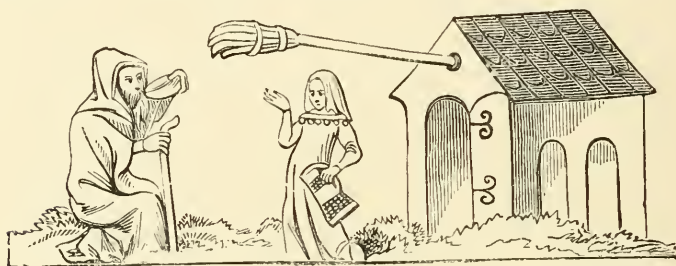
It was by no means an uncommon custom for directions to be given "over against," or "next door to" certain places. This plan enabled persons to dispense with a pictorial signboard of their own, and cling, as it has been suggested, like parasites to the sign opposite or next door, and if one of note, so much the better for them.

Another popular plan, which has come down to the present time, was to paint the houses a striking colour, and from this practice we have "Red House," "White House," etc. Doors and balconies were painted various colours to serve a like purpose. Some shopkeepers resorted to the rebus to make known their names; for example, a hare and a bottle stood for Harebottle, and two cocks for Cox.

Signboards are of great antiquity, and were

in use among the Greeks and Romans. The writings of ancient authors contain many allusions to them. Interesting signboards have been found at Pompeii and at Herculaneum, chiefly carved, though painted examples are by no means uncommon.

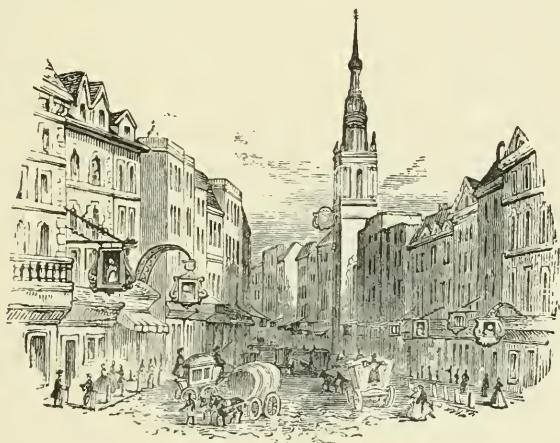
A Bush is a well-known Roman sign, and is the most ancient tavern sign of which there is any history. It was in use down to the days of James I. Tavern keepers in this country in



A PILGRIM AT THE ALE-STAKE.

bygone times were required to hang out a bush, and if any neglected to do this they ran the risk of being presented before the authorities and fined. The bush was fastened to the end of a long staff, called an ale-pole or ale-stake. This is sometimes represented in the illuminations of old manuscripts. We give an illustration of a pilgrim taking refreshment at an ancient ale-house; it will be observed that a woman is the keeper of

the house, and that the ale-stake is a besom. The manuscript belongs to the fourteenth century, and is in the British Museum. A mere bush or bunch of ivy, and in Scotland even a wisp of straw, served the purpose of indicating an ale-house. In course of time the attractiveness of the ale-stake was increased. When Chaucer



CHEAPSIDE IN THE OLDEN TIME.

wrote, the bush had developed into an ale-garland, and large in size. The poet says :—

“A garland had he set upon his head
As gret as it were for an ale-stake.”

—*Canterbury Tales.*

Tradesmen's signs greatly increased in size and number, until they became dangerous to persons passing along the busy streets of London. In a

picture we give of Cheapside, London, when projecting signs were permitted, it will be seen that nearly every house has its swinging sign with a picture painted upon it, and supported by ironwork of elaborate workmanship. Sometimes the signs were suspended from a post or an obelisk, and frequently took the form of triumphal archways. Large sums of money were frequently spent on painting and erecting signs. The sign of the "White Hart" at Scole, Norfolk, erected in 1655, cost £1,057.

The weather was indicated by the swinging signs. Says Gay :—

"But when the swinging signs your ears offend
With creaking noise, then rainy floods impend."

At London in 1718 a sign brought down the front of a house, and four persons were killed. Accidents through signs were by no means uncommon, and a move had to be made in Parliament to stop the cause. Acts of Parliament were passed in 1762-70, directing that the London swinging signboards were to be removed altogether, or fixed in front of the houses. The law was not carried into force without much opposition. After the signs and their posts had been removed, the streets were paved with

Scotch granite, and a witty writer thus expressed himself :—

“The Scottish new pavement well deserves our praise ;
To the Scotch we're obliged too, for mending our ways ;
But this we can never forgive, for they say
As that they have taken our posts all away.”

Many interesting carved signs were placed over shop doors, but they have been swept away, and one only to our knowledge remains in its original position. The example we refer to is in Holywell Street, Strand, London, and is the sign of the “Half Moon.”



THE HALF MOON, HOLYWELL STREET, LONDON.

It is of wood, boldly carved, gilt, and in the centre is the conventional face. It is of considerable antiquity, and cannot fail to interest anyone taking a pleasure in the olden time investigations. Diprose, the historian of the parish of St. Clement Danes, says the shop having this sign was once occupied by a

stay-maker to George III. Towards the middle of the present century a mercer had his business here, and on his accounts was a representation of his sign. It is now, and has been for many years, a bookseller's shop. At no far distant time it will doubtless disappear in the march of modern improvement.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

The Light of Other Days.

THE tinder box and candle snuffers are becoming extremely rare. The former is only to be found in the houses of collectors of curios, and the latter on a small tray may occasionally be seen, kept as an ornamental curiosity; yet less than a hundred years ago every house in the land possessed one or both. A few pence will buy a dozen boxes of matches, and save us the endless labour of preparing tinder and keeping it dry, relieve us of the tap, tap, tap of the flint and steel, and the weary waiting for the vital spark to ignite the tinder.

Lamps burning oil are of very great antiquity. Herodotus, the father of history, saw nothing strange in the festival of lamps that was held at Saïs in Egypt, except for the number of them. In Roman times, the commonest form of lamp was of terra cotta, in shape like a shallow flattened teapot, without a lid. The wick burned in the spout or nozzle, and oil was poured in at the top. The beautiful parable of the Ten Virgins reminds us of an exceedingly pretty ceremonial

custom in which lamps play an important part, and the Scriptures contain many an apt illustration and allusion drawn from the lamp and its light.

When Hull was the headquarters of the whaling fleet, whale oil was largely used for illuminating purposes, being burned in lamps similar to the naphtha lamps now in use on the stalls in market-places, and on shows at fairs. The result was a maximum of smoke with a minimum of light, and the smell proportionate to the smoke. The good housewives of to-day complain that the spotless purity of the room ceilings is sullied by gas, but what would they have said to whale oil and naphtha? Perhaps they could not have said much more than they do now.

Candles also date from very early times. The Saxons called the sun the day-candle, and Alfred the Great measured time by candles, enclosing them in horn lanterns to protect them from draughts. Peeled rushes were frequently used as wicks, and the attenuated illuminator thus produced was called a rushlight. Aubrey, writing in 1673, of Ockley in Surrey, says, "The people draw peeled rushes through melted grease, which yields

a sufficient light for ordinary use, is very cheap and useful, and burns long."

The Wax Chandlers' Company was incorporated in 1484, but wax candles had been in use long before this, largely for religious ceremonies. It was no uncommon thing, in the olden time, for a testator to bequeath so many pounds of wax to be used in burning before some favourite shrine, for the repose of his soul.

Commoner candles were made of mutton tallow, because of its property of setting hard, and the introduction of cotton wicks led to the evolution of snuffers from scissors. Our grandparents can remember the time when churches and chapels were lighted with candles, and with what interest they, as children, watched the perambulation of the aged sexton round the church, before sermon time, to snuff and trim the numerous candles; and what suppressed excitement they experienced when his trembling hands snuffed out the candle, and failed two or three times to relight it!

Until the fifteenth century there seems to have been no public lighting of the streets whatever. If the wayfarer needed a light, one was carried like the country people do to this day, on very dark or stormy nights. Stow's "Survey of London"

has the following entry—"1417. Mayor, Sir Henry Barton, Skinner. This Henry Barton ordained lanthorns with lights to be hanged out on the winter evenings, betwixt Hallowtide and Candlemasse." It was well that the ordinance enjoined "lanthorns with lights," for a previous order commanded lanterns to be hung out. They were accordingly hung out, but empty; then another order was issued that lanterns with candles should be hung out. They also were hung out, but the candles were not lighted, and the Egyptian darkness continued, but Mayor Barton settled the matter with his "lanthorns with lights."

Crime lurks in darkness, and the streets of our large cities were scenes of riot, robbery, and violence after dark, until the authorities were compelled to do something to check the lawlessness, but it was not until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century that the lighting of London streets was undertaken in earnest, yet before the end of that century, they are described as presenting a beautiful and noble appearance, and Oxford Street alone could boast of more lamps than the city of Paris. By Act of Parliament, the expenses were defrayed by a rate

levied on all householders rented at £10 or above a year; and any person could be free from the rate by undertaking to hang out a lantern of his own. The lamps were of strong crystal glass provided with three wicks.

In a curious old book by a Frenchman on the state of London in 1765, there is the following description of the street lamps:—"The iron railing, more or less ornamental, terminates in pilasters, forming a sort of advanced doorway, surmounted by two little lamps, which it is expected every house will furnish towards the lighting of the city during the night. The only inconvenience resulting from it is, that it is difficult to prevent spilling the oil during the daily trimming of the lamps. I saw a person's head broke by the fall of one of these; he, however, took it in good part, and seemed well contented with the excuses of the lamp-lighter. These lamps, all enclosed in glass coverings, are lighted about half an hour after sunset. They illuminate the pavement, but in the middle of the wide streets, there is scarcely light enough to guide the numerous vehicles."

The watchmen of the night carried firepots or cressets at the top of a long pole, illuminating

their own presence, but leaving smoke and darkness behind them. They called out the time, shouted out meteorological observations, and exhorted householders to hang out their lights. "Hang out your lights! Hang out your lights! Ten o'clock and a cloudy night!"

Link boys earned a livelihood by piloting pedestrians, or guiding carriages through the murky streets, by the light of their flaming torches. It is said that if their offer of escort were rejected, they did not hesitate to spoil the dress of the rejector by sparks and melted grease from their flambeaux. Many of the old houses in London have still their eighteenth century wrought iron lamp-stands, to which are attached large iron extinguishers, into which the link boys thrust their links to extinguish them while waiting on the doorstep for their employer. Down Whitehall, St. James's, Bloomsbury, Gower Street, and the *rus in urbe* squares of London these old extinguishers are not uncommon. Dickens, in "Our Mutual Friend," with his inimitable humour, refers to the "two iron extinguishers before the main door—which seemed to request all lively visitors to have the kindness to put themselves out before entering."

Coal gas was known in England for more than two hundred years before the knowledge was put to practical use. It is said that Dr. Johnson, while watching the lamp-lighter re-ascend the ladder to light a lamp which had died out, noticed that the flame was communicated to the wick by the thick smoke, or gas, that was ascending. "Ah!" exclaimed he, "one of these days the streets of London will be lighted by smoke."

As early as 1659, coal gas from a coal mine at Wigan attracted attention by its property of catching fire. Boyle, the chemist, experimented with it, and distilled the coal in a retort, collecting the gas in bladders, and provided amusement for his friends by burning the gas as it escaped through holes pricked in the bladders. Well nigh eighty years passed before it was heard of again, and then it was brought under the notice of the Royal Society, by Sir James Lowther, in 1733. A coal mine at Whitehaven seemed to be surcharged with gas, for the colliers were alarmed at the rush of air, as they called it, especially when it took fire at their candles. To prevent dangerous consequences, a tube was laid to let off the gas above the mouth of the pit. Here it was

ignited, and went on burning for nearly three years without any apparent decrease.

The eighteenth century had well nigh run its course, when Mr. Murdoch, of Redruth in Cornwall, made coal gas in a small retort, and used it for domestic purposes. In 1797, he removed to Scotland, and made use of it there, as he had done in Cornwall. From Ayrshire, the use of the new illuminant passed to Birmingham, where Messrs. Boulton and Watt had their premises lighted with it, and from them it spread to other Birmingham houses, and thence to Manchester, and other northern manufacturing towns. Yet people did not use it much in their houses; they complained of the smoke injuring the furniture, and that its use caused headache.

In 1804, a German, named Winsor, established a National Light and Heat Company, which abolished the old oil lamps in Pall Mall in 1807, by lighting that street with gas. In spite of ridicule, prejudice, and narrowness of judgment, the new light gradually won its way into favour, only to give place to its brilliant rival, the electric light, the child of the nineteenth century.

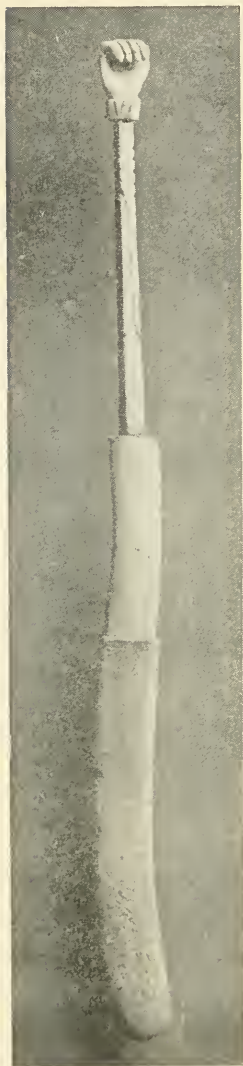
JOHN NICHOLSON.

The Scratch Back.

IN bygone days ladies were not very particular respecting personal cleanliness. Their high head-dresses once fixed remained for a month, and caused not a little inconvenience to the wearer and annoyance to her friends, the flesh became very irritable, and little instruments known as back-scratchers were extensively employed. Wine-drinking men, when suffering from over-heated blood, would often use them.

We find in Chambers's "Book of Days" an article concerning this curious little implement, and it is stated to be rare, and that few readers have heard of it, and fewer have seen it in the present day, although it was in general use in the eighteenth century. It is by no means so rare as the writer supposes, for several examples have come under our notice. A collector in Hull has three specimens, another has one, and we have two. Not long ago a friend bought us one in London for a few shillings from a dealer in curiosities. It has a carved white bone handle, about nine inches in length, in which is fastened

an elegantly fashioned slender shaft of ivory,

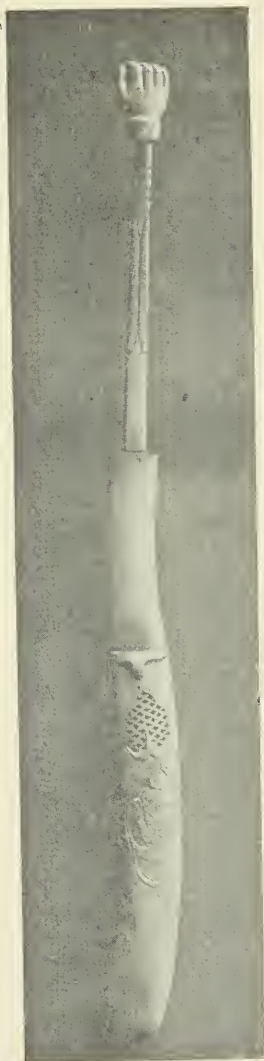


SCRATCH BACK, FRONT VIEW.

five inches in length, and at the end is a beautifully carved hand in ivory, slightly over an inch in length. The fingers on the hand are extremely well cut. The whole length of the instrument is about fifteen inches. Under a raised piece of the handle is a hole for passing through a band to hang it up by in the dressing-room, or to be fastened to the dress if taken to the play for use in the theatre. We give an illustration of this excellent specimen of the scratch back.

This instrument is still in use in India; not long ago a Hull seaman brought us one from Bombay, consisting of a neatly carved hand in bone affixed to the end of a slender shaft of wood. In the pages of *Notes and Queries* for 1894, a correspondent says that he has an

example sent from Burmah, and with it was a note stating that the "implement was universally used by Europeans, Chinese, Burmese, and natives for scratching the back when suffering from prickly heat." Mr. Everard Home Coleman, a painstaking contributor to this popular periodical, states that he possesses one that has been in his family for nearly a century. The handle is twisted whalebone, eighteen inches long, with a carved ivory hand slightly curved. Many years ago, writes the Rev. John Pickford, M.A., Sir Frederick Ouseley showed him at St. Michael's College, Tenby, one of these curious little implements, which had belonged to Sir Gore Ouseley, Ambassador-Extraordinary and Minister-Plenipotentiary at the Court of Persia. It was called a



SCRATCH BACK, BACK VIEW.

Persian scratch back. It was beautifully carved, and the extremity into the semblance of a hand. Mr. Pickford thinks most probably its use originated in the East, and with civilization proceeded to the West. Some very good specimens may be seen in the South Kensington Museum.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

The Macaronis.

SOME dandies who had visited Italy formed in London, about 1770, an association under the title of the Macaroni Club. On their dinner-table was always placed a dish of macaroni, an article of food little known in England at that period. The members were not content with merely enjoying their novel fare, they aspired to be leaders of fashion in dress. About 1772, they made quite an impression on society in London by their eccentric costume. Their singular attire did not remain long, perhaps, five years at the utmost, but so long as it lasted it met with admiration from lovers of display, and not little abuse from those who regarded it as made for something other than show. Women were not slow to follow the fashion of the men, and dressed *à-la macaroni*. We give pictures of a pair of these Macaronis, in all their glory.

The head-dress of the man first attracts our attention. His hair is dressed into a large toupee, it may be designated as an enormous toupee; at the sides are curls, and at the back it

is gathered and tied up into a large club, to rest on the back of the neck like a porter's knob. A little hat was worn, and if the Macaroni wanted to take it off he usually employed a large cane



MALE MACARONI.

decorated with silk tassels, and he made a point of carrying the stick with him when walking. A white handkerchief, tied in a large bow, was worn round the neck. The shirt front had frills, and these projected from the waistcoat. The waistcoat was short, reaching very little below the waist, and the coat was also short, reaching to the hips and made to fit tight. Round the small turn down collar of the coat was lace or braid, and frog buttons, tassels and embroidery added much to its smart appearance.

The breeches fitted tightly, and were made of silk, sometimes spotted and at other times striped, according to the taste of the

wearer. At the knees were large bunches of strings. Two watches were worn, one in each of the pockets of the breeches, and to the watches were attached chains with seals. Silk stockings, with small shoes having little diamond buckles, completed the dress of the dandy as presented to us by Fairholt and other authorities in costume.

Jack Rann, better known as "Sixteen Stringed Jack," the robber, obtained his nick-name from the fact of following the fashion of the day, and wearing sixteen strings to his trousers. He was executed for highway robbery, on November 3rd, 1774.



FEMALE MACARONI.

The lady Macaroni was in style after the manner of the man. Her hair was dressed so as to form a large heap on the top of the head,

and plumes of feathers and bunches of flowers, by no means small, were worn on top of the hair. It is not surprising to learn that the head appeared to over balance the lady.

The mode of dressing the hair gave rise to satire in poetry and prose. The following extract is from a satirical song of the day :—

“ Five pounds of hair they wear behind,
 The ladies to delight, O,
 Their senses give unto the wind,
 To make themselves a fright, O.
 This fashion, who does e’er pursue,
 I think a simple-tony ;
 For he’s a fool, say what you will,
 Who is a macaroni.”

We have a description of a lady’s head-dress in a poem by Robert Ferguson, entitled “ Fashion ” (1773). He says :—

“ White as the covered Alps or wintry face
 Of snowy Lapland, her *toupee* appear’d ;
 Exhibits to the view a cumbrous mass
 Of curls high nodding o’er her polished brow ;
 From which redundant flows the Brussels lace,
 With pendant ribbons, too, of various dye,
 Where all the colours in the ethereal bow
 Unite and blend and tantalize the sight.”

“ The gown ” says Fairholt, “ was open in front ; hoops were discarded except in full-dress ;

and the gown gradually spread outward from the waist, and trailed upon the ground behind, showing the rich laced petticoat ornamented with flowers and needlework; the sleeves widened to the elbow, where a succession of ruffles and lappets, each wider than the other, hung down below the hips."

As might be expected, the periodicals of the period poked fun at the Macaronis. "No handsome fellow," says a writer in one of the magazines, "will belong to them, because their dress is calculated to make the handsome ugly, and the ugly ridiculous. His hat, like his understanding, is very little, and he wears it in direct opposition to the manly beaver of our ancient heroes. He has generally an abundant quantity of hair, and well he may, for his head produces nothing else; if he has not a sufficient quantity of his own, he borrows it from his neighbours. His coat slouches down behind, and his shoes are reduced to the shape of slippers, on the surface of which appears a small circle of silver, which he tells you is a buckle. His manners are still more strange than his dress. He is a sworn foe of learning, and even sets simple orthography at defiance, for all learned

fellows that can spell or write are either queer dogs or poor rogues. If you see him at a theatre, he will scarcely wink without his opera-glass, which he will thrust into a lady's face, and then simper and be prodigiously entertain'd with her confusion."

They were held up to ridicule on the stage. A drama in five acts entitled "The Macaroni" attracted much attention. The hero of the piece was abused because he respected female virtue, and delivered himself in such mild oaths as, "May I be deaf at the opera," etc.

Although not a few writers in the columns of the press and in the pages of the periodicals abused these leaders of fashion, they became popular, and, to use the words of an authority on costume, "they took the town by storm." At balls dance-music *à la macaroni* was much in request. The printsellers did a large trade in selling portraits of the Macaroni celebrities. Macaroni songs were popular, and the following is a specimen :—

"THE MACARONI.

Air—*Nancy Dawson.*

Come listen all, and you shall hear
Of all the beauties that appear,

And move in fashion's motley sphere,
 The fat, the lean, the bony ;
 The boast, the glory of the age,
 How young and old can now engage ;
 Each master, miss, and parent sage
 Is now a macaroni.

Each tries the other to outvie,
 With firetops mounting to the sky,
 And some you oft with tails may spy,
 As thick as any pony ;
 Insipid gait, affected sneer,
 With side-curles high above the ear,
 That each may more the ass appear,
 Or shew the macaroni.

Each doctor's now become a prig,
 That used to look so wise and big,
 With stiffened and swinging wig,
 That got him all his money ;
 They've all thrown off the grave disguise
 Which made each quaking owl look wise,
 For wig, of whip the coachman's size,
 To shew the macaroni.

The lawyer too's become a crop,
 Instead of tail a Tyburn top ;
 Alack-a day ! each barber's shop
 Now looks but half so funny,
 As when the windows once were graced,
 Where stately wigs in rows were placed—
 But these are days of wit and taste,
 Huzza for macaroni.

The priest that once with rose and band,
 With formal wig, and hat in hand,

Sagacious phiz that might demand
 A bow from any tony ;
 Behold him now all debonair,
 With tiny hat and tortured hair,
 And while he prattles to the fair
 He shews the macaroni.

The cits that used, like Jerry Sneak,
 To dress and walk out once a week,
 And durst not to their betters speak,
 Are all grown jolly crony ;
 Each sneak is now a buckish blade
 When in the Park, but talk of trade
 He thinks you mean him to degrade—
 Each cit's a macaroni.

Who would not live in days like these,
 In days of jollity and ease,
 There's no exception to degrees,
 My lord and John are cronies,
 Each order and profession claim
 An equal right, an equal fame,
 For nothing's equal to the name
 Of modern macaronis."

In conclusion, it remains to be said that thoughtful writers have defended these eccentric fops, and credited them with helping in the progress of national refinement. One thing may be set down in their favour, they were sober in an age when the bottle was freely passed round.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

The Press Gang.

HAPPILY we now live in the piping times of peace, having no fear of any interference with our personal liberties. Of impressments, press gangs, militia ballots we know nothing. We are just beginning to learn that—

“Peace has her victories
No less renowned than war.”

It was not so with our forefathers in the last or early years of the present century; they were harassed with many inconveniences with which we are altogether unacquainted.

In the year 1353 (Edward III.) the State assumed the power of impressment for the purpose of replenishing the Navy—of forcing men into that service whether they were willing to join it or not. It was a species of tyranny as difficult to defend as to uphold negro slavery—the exercise of the tyranny of the strong on the defencelessness of the weak. We need not, however, in the present day trouble ourselves with either impressment or slavery, both being in effect obsolete. They were robberies of the

person and the liberty of the man by the hand of power, unchecked by justice. What was called a State necessity first introduced the indefensible practice of manning our Navy by seamen kidnapped from their homes, their families, and their usual occupations by means of savage violence. Immemorial usage, without the intervention of law, was pleaded in favour of impressment; but this argument is not valid. It did not suffice in the case of ship-money, which was a tax raised without the consent of Parliament. John Hampden, the Member for Bucks, fought the question, and notwithstanding the opinion of the Crown lawyers, nothing more was heard of the levy of ship-money in the inland counties after Hampden had battled with the Crown authorities. Again, John Wilkes, once Member for Aylesbury, tried his strength with the Government upon the subject of general warrants, and was successful. Notwithstanding his many failings, Wilkes is entitled to the thanks of the people for his services in upholding their rights and privileges, and preserving their personal liberties. It is a maxim in the law of this country that usage or custom cannot make any practice legal which is obviously unreasonable, unjust, or absurd.

Long usage, it was argued by some, was tantamount to common law, but common law and common sense must work in unison, or in the case of a collision common law takes the second best place.

We hear nothing of press gangs in the present day, and perhaps it may be requisite to explain what they really were. In times of war, when the Navy needed recruiting, press gangs were called into requisition. A file of well disciplined soldiers was told off and placed under the command of a superior officer, with instructions to impress every suitable man they met with for replenishing the Navy. Thus, men were in fact kidnapped, and at once sent to the nearest depôt, without, in many cases, having time to give information to their friends as to what had become of them. This system was one of hardship and cruelty. Little was heard of press gangs in the agricultural districts and rural villages. Hodge would have made but a poor sailor. With his hobnails, smockfrock, billycock, he would have cut a poor figure on a yardarm or in climbing the mainmast; so Hodge was left alone or reserved for the local militia.

The class of men mostly coveted by the

press gangs were seafaring men, the crews of merchant vessels; and so great were the powers vested in these press gangs that they were justified in boarding a vessel and impressing a large portion of the crew, providing they left sufficient hands on board to work the vessel. The system led to great confusion. It was not the nature of sailors to put up with indignities without resenting them, and serious conflicts frequently took place between sailors and the gang. Street riots were also exceedingly common, as the press was naturally most unpopular.

When men were much in demand, the press became what was termed "hot"; then "land-lubbers" were not overlooked, civilians being pressed by hundreds. On one occasion, so hot was the press, that 2,370 men were enrolled in the Navy books in thirty-six hours. There is a case on record in which the Lord Mayor of London received a peremptory command to raise a thousand men with the utmost expedition. It was on Easter Day. The Mayor and Aldermen, with their deputies, constables, and other officers, repaired to several of the City churches, and having caused the doors to

be closed, arrested the attendants during the worship till the number required was completed, and those so raised were equipped and marched the same night to Dover. The report causing their capture was a "scare," their services were consequently not required, and after spending a very miserable week in a kind of semi-imprisonment at Dover, they returned to London in a most uncomfortable plight.

The proceedings of the press gang often caused the greatest misery amongst artisan and other families. There was a case where an industrious mechanic was pressed whilst at work ; he was forthwith sent off. His wife, left penniless with a child to support, was brought to starvation point, and in her distressed state was tempted to purloin a trifling article from a shop in order to procure food. At that time robbery from a shop, however trifling, was a capital offence ; she was detected, convicted, and executed, and her infant, whilst being fed from her breast, was torn from her arms at the foot of the gallows. This was one of many terrible effects, showing the evil working of the press gang.

The Militia was formerly also raised by compulsory means, but was not accompanied with

the rudeness and barbarity of the press gang. The Militia, as is well known, is a body of soldiers, regularly enrolled and trained, though not in constant service in times of peace, and thereby distinguished from standing armies. In England the origin of this national force is generally traced back to Alfred. The Militia are or were drawn by lot or ballot. They are not compellable to leave their county unless in case of threatened invasion, nor in any case to march out of the kingdom. They have, however, often volunteered to do garrison duty when the regular troops were absent on actual service. The Bucks Militia were quartered in Dover Castle during the French war, as is evident from the memorial stones in the vicinity of the castle over Bucks Militiamen who died there. Although impressment is here treated as of the past, the laws relating to it are yet in existence; they were modified in the reign of Philip and Mary, and several alterations were made in the reign of George III., still the State continues to hold the power of claiming compulsory service, either in the naval or land forces. There was not that difficulty in replenishing the Army as in the Navy.

ROBERT GIBBS.

The Gibbets of Northumberland.

NORTHUMBERLAND is one of the few British counties which still possesses a specimen of that barbarous memorial of the bygone, bad, old times—a gibbet. It is known to the country people as “Winter’s Stob,” and stands, where it has stood for over a hundred years, at the Stang Cross (an ancient boundary-stone), near Harwood Head, two miles from Elsdon, the chief town of Redesdale. It is a weird and uncanny object if you come upon it on a gloomy winter’s day, standing there amongst the desolate Border hills, with what appears to be a man’s head depending from the arm at its top. On nearer examination it is seen to be only a wooden effigy of a head, an effigy perforated and encrusted with leaden pellets, for it has long been the custom of passing sportsmen to discharge their pieces at this memorial of a horrible crime. The story of this crime is a blood-curdling one, a favourite tale, of a winter’s night, by the fire-side of many a Northumbrian cottage and farm-house.

Just across the Border, at Yetholm, there existed, at the end of last century and long afterwards, a colony of gipsies, or so-called gipsies, a lawless, thieving crew, dreaded and shunned by all the surrounding country-side. Perhaps the worst characters amongst them were the members of a family called Winter. Two of them, father and son, were hanged at Newcastle for burglary, but this did not deter a second son from pursuing a career of crime similar to that of his relatives. Of all the gipsy gang which infested Yetholm, Will Winter was reputed the most desperate and the most dangerous, and he is the personage whose execrated memory is still kept alive by the gibbet of "Winter's Stob."

He had, for some offence against the law, been imprisoned at Newcastle, and, on his release, was met at the prison-gate by two of the Yetholm gipsies. These were his cousins, two young women, called Jane and Eleanor Clarke. They had brought an ass with them, and, mounted on this, Winter set forth homewards, the women walking alongside. Before leaving Newcastle, however, the gipsy bought a new pair of boots in the Castle Garth, a

pair of boots which struck his fancy, on account of the fanciful arrangement of the plentiful array of hob nails which studded their soles. Little did he know, when he bought them, that these very boots were to be the means of sealing the fate of both himself and his companions.

The two women, during their journey northwards, received both money and victuals for telling fortunes at the various farm-houses and villages they passed, so that they suffered from no scarcity of food. At length they reached Whiskersields Common, near Elsdon, and it being about the time for their mid-day meal, they entered one of those circular, dry-stone-built sheep-folds, so plentiful on the Border, and seated themselves on the grass. Then their provisions were produced, a large piece of cold mutton, a loaf of bread, and a flask of ale, and they commenced to eat with good appetite.

Now it happened that there was a little shepherd boy, close by, on the hill-side. He saw what he considered these suspicious-looking people enter the fold, and made up his mind to see what they were about. He accordingly crept stealthily up to the fold and peeped

through the crannies in its wall. Inside, he saw Winter sitting right in front of him, cutting up the meat and bread with a huge butcher's knife, his legs stretched out before him on the grass, so that the peculiar arrangement of the nails in his boot soles was distinctly visible. The women sat on either side the gipsy, and the donkey was tethered behind. Winter was talking to his companions earnestly, but in so low a tone that the boy could not hear what was said, so, seeing the inmates of the fold dispose themselves to sleep, he stole away and rejoined his flock.

Within full view of the sheep-fold, and near the foot of the hill on which it was situated, stood a building. It was originally a pele tower called "Hawes' Pele," but had been converted into a dwelling-house, and its name changed to "the Rawe." Its sole occupier was an old woman, called Margaret Crozier, who made a living by hawking drapery and other goods about the country. Her main stock she kept at home in her one-roomed cottage, which served her as shop, warehouse, living-room and bedroom. It was about this lonely old woman that Winter was talking to the two Clarkes, when the boy

unfortunately could not hear. The villain was telling his companions that he proposed, as soon as it was dark, to break into the house, and, with their assistance, carry off as many of the goods as possible, together with what money could be laid hands on. Old Mrs. Crozier was generally supposed to have saved money, and to be wealthy for one in her position in life. Little did she know that afternoon, as she went about her duties in her lonely dwelling amongst the hills, what evil was being plotted against her on the hill-side above!

When darkness had fully fallen, the three gipsies crept from the fold, taking their innocent accomplice, the ass, with them. Winter had found an old, rusty plough-coulter, and with this he burst open the door of the cottage. Then they entered quietly, and, finding the old woman asleep in bed, the two Clarkes proceeded to carry out the goods they found piled around, and to pack them on the back of the donkey. As for Winter, while this was going on, he was rummaging for money, by the light of a rush-light. The noise he made in breaking open a chest awakened the old woman, and she started up in bed, and calling on them

by name, rated them soundly as a set of thieving vagabonds.

Winter was now for decamping with what spoil they had got, but was prevented by the elder of the Clarkes, who pointed out to him the danger they would run, should the old woman be left in a condition to give evidence against them. Upon hearing this, the ruffian immediately turned back, and, with the huge knife he had cut the mutton with in the afternoon, nearly severed the poor old woman's head from her body. Then the trio stole off into the darkness and the night.

The murder of Margaret Crozier caused an immense sensation throughout the whole of Northumberland, where she was widely known and respected, and the hue and cry was quickly out in quest of her murderers. The description given by the shepherd boy of the people he had seen in the fold turned suspicion at once on the right quarter, and, when the strangely-nailed boots described by the boy were found on Winter's feet, suspicion was confirmed, and the three gipsies were arrested with the stolen goods in their possession.

At their trial, which came on at the next

Assizes at Newcastle, they were found guilty, and sentenced to death by hanging; Winter to be afterwards gibbeted, and the two Clarkes to be sent to the surgeons for dissection. Winter's body, after being cut down from the gallows, was duly prepared, by smearing it with pitch, and hung in chains on the gibbet, which still stands, and goes by the name of "Winter's Stob."

In course of time, the body decayed and the bones fell to the ground, but they were gathered up, placed in a tarred sack, and again hoisted to their ignominious altitude. Then the sack, in its turn, fell to pieces, and the bones were buried out of sight. But Winter's horrid crime was not allowed to pass out of memory by the people of Elsdon. They caused a wooden figure, representing the murderer's body, to be hung on the gibbet. The head only now remains as a memorial of the foul deed which stained the quiet, peaceful valley of the Rede more than a hundred years ago, that is, in 1791.

Forty years after the execution of Winter, the practice of hanging the bodies of malefactors in chains was abolished, and it is, of course, to the olden times that we must look for most of

the examples of this barbarous custom. Certainly the most illustrious personage whose body, or rather part of whose body, ever hung on a Northumbrian gibbet was the famous Scottish hero and patriot, Sir William Wallace, after his execution at Smithfield in 1305. His right arm was stuck up on a pole on Newcastle Bridge, and his left at Berwick.

A somewhat similar fate befel Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, twenty years later. After he had suffered death for treason, one quarter of his body was exposed on the top of the keep of the castle of Newcastle. The revolting terms of his sentence were, "that his sword should be taken from him, and his gilt spurs hacked from off his heels; that he should be hanged by the neck and drawn, his heart and bowels taken out of his body, burnt to ashes and winnowed, his body cut into four quarters, one to be set upon the principal tower of Carlisle Castle, another upon the tower of Newcastle, a third upon the bridge at York, the fourth at Shrewsbury, and his head upon London Bridge."

The most horrible and shameful instance of gibbeting in Northumberland, or anywhere else, followed upon what can be called nothing else

than the foul and treacherous murder of two young men by King Edward III. at Berwick. The English monarch was besieging the Border fortress, then held by the Scots, and, meeting with an obstinate resistance, he turned the siege into a blockade, both by sea and land. The garrison, being reduced to great straits for lack of food, made an offer to surrender the place, provided it was not relieved in five days. This Edward agreed to, provided hostages were sent, and, in accordance with this stipulation, Sir Alexander Seton, the Deputy-Governor of the town, sent his two sons into the English camp. No sooner was this done, than Edward, disregarding all honour and good faith, threatened to hang the young men if the town was not instantly surrendered. The unhappy father was in a sad quandary, but his sense of duty overcame even paternal affection, and he refused to surrender until the stipulated time had elapsed. The English King thereupon caused two gibbets to be erected, on which the two youths were hung, and their bodies left suspended in full sight of their friends in the town. The place where this took place, a rising ground on the south side of the Tweed, is still called *Hang-a-*

Dyke Nook, and, in the poor-house at Tweedmouth, two skulls are preserved, which are said to be those of the unfortunate hostages.

In the reign of Henry V., Sir Thomas Grey, of Wark, Northumberland, was beheaded for high treason, and his head stuck on a pole on one of the gates of Newcastle.

The year 1528 presents us with a considerable batch of Northumbrian gibbets. In that year a band of North Tynedale moss-troopers made a raid into the county of Durham, and were riding back, laden with booty, when their progress was arrested by the swollen waters of the South Tyne. They therefore attempted to cross by the fortified Haydon Bridge, but being set upon by the bailiff of Hexham and others, and were compelled to leave their horses and fly on foot. By the aid of bloodhounds they were pursued and overtaken, and, in the fight which ensued, their leader, William Charlton, of Shotlyngton, and one called Noble, were killed. Other two of them, Armstrong and Dodd by name, were made prisoners, tried at a Warden Court at Alnwick, sentenced to death, and executed. The bodies of the whole four were hung in chains, Armstrong near Newcastle,

Dodd at Alnwick, Charleton at Hexham, and Noble at Haydon Bridge.

The rebellion of the Earls filled the whole North Country with gibbets. Scarce a town or village was there in Durham, North Yorkshire, or South Northumberland but had one of these grim erections, with its still grimmer burden. Seven hundred of these there were in all; stern evidences of the vengeance taken by Queen Elizabeth's Council of the North on the poor misguided people who had followed their noble leaders into rebellion, only to be forsaken by them, and left to their miserable fate.

The last case of gibbeting to be recorded is, like some of the others, only a partial one. During the great Civil War, Colonel Lilburn, Governor of Tynemouth Castle for the Parliament, traitorously delivered it up to the King's forces. Not long did he escape due punishment for his treachery, for Sir Arthur Haslerigg, the Governor of Newcastle, took Tynemouth by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. Lilburn's head was struck off and placed on a pole on the castle he had betrayed, as a warning to others who might be tempted to do as he had done.

Such, with the exception of a few insignificant and uninteresting examples, is the tale of the gibbets of old Northumberland. Though the gallows and the rope were much in requisition in 1715, and again in 1745, after the suppression of the Jacobite risings, in the case of all but the titled victims, the majority of the executions took place in other parts of England.

R. J. CHARLETON.

The Highwaymen of Hounslow Heath.

HOUNSLOW HEATH, which adjoins the village of that name on the west, had, in the last century, the unenviable notoriety of being one of the chief haunts of the highwaymen and footpads who then infested the roads crossing the extensive tracts of uncultivated land encircling the suburbs of London. It extends into several adjacent parishes, and was estimated at the beginning of the present century to comprise about five thousand acres. Its notoriety in the annals of crime dates from the latter part of the seventeenth century, when, as Macaulay relates, the peace of Ryswick “had all over Europe, and nowhere more than in England, turned soldiers into marauders.” They were not all discharged soldiers, however, who took to the road as a means of replenishing the purses depleted by gambling and profligacy. It is related by the Hon. Grantley Berkeley, for instance, that in 1752, Twysden, Bishop of Raphoe, playing the highwayman on Hounslow Heath, was shot by the man whom he would have robbed, and died

at the house of a friend, his death being publicly attributed to inflammation of the bowels.

Claud Duval, a gay Frenchman, "the gentleman highwayman," and the predecessor in that character of Tom King, finds mention in the historic pages of Macaulay, who relates that "he stopped a lady's coach, in which there was a booty of four hundred pounds; how he took only one hundred, and suffered the fair owner to ransom the rest by dancing a coranto with him on the heath." This romantic incident has been related by Henry Downes Miles, one of the serial fictionists of sixty years ago, who also told the stories, in the manner made popular by Bulwer and Ainsworth, of Dick Turpin and Jerry Abershaw. The story of Duval's dance with the lady on Hounslow Heath has been made the subject of a picture by Mr. Frith, which has been engraved.

Lord Mahon, writing in 1836 his "History of England," says:—"Much less than a century ago, the great thoroughfares near London, and, above all, the open heaths, as Bagshot and Hounslow, were infested by robbers on horseback, who bore the name of highwaymen. Booty these men were determined by some means or

other to obtain. In the reign of George the First they stuck up hand-bills at the gates of many known rich men in London, forbidding any one of them, on pain of death, to travel from home without a watch, or with less than ten guineas of money. Private carriages and public conveyances were alike the objects of attack." It was on Hounslow Heath that General Fairfax was robbed by the notorious "Moll Cut-purse," who, though she was captured and committed to Newgate for the offence, contrived to escape its penalty, and died in her bed. It was here, too, that Nuthall, the solicitor and friend of Lord Chatham, when travelling from Bath to London in his carriage, was stopped and shot at, and though unwounded by the robber's pistol, died of fright.

In the recently published "Collections and Recollections," said to be from the pen of Mr. George W. E. Russell, a story of highway robbery is told, which the diarist says he heard as a boy as having happened to the fifth Lord Berkeley. The hero of it "had always declared that any one might without disgrace be overpowered by superior numbers, but that he would never surrender to a single highwayman. As he was

crossing Hounslow Heath one night, on his way from Berkeley Castle to London, his travelling carriage was stopped by a man on horseback, who put his head in at the window, and said, 'I believe you are Lord Berkeley?' 'I am.' 'I believe you have always boasted that you would never surrender to a single highwayman?' 'I have.' 'Well,' presenting a pistol, 'I am a single highwayman, and I say, your money or your life!' 'You cowardly dog,' said Lord Berkeley, 'do you think I can't see your confederate skulking behind you?' The highwayman, who was really alone, looked hurriedly round, and Lord Berkeley shot him through the head." The story may be true, though it is not new, having not only been told, in a very amusing manner, in the "Life and Recollections" of Mr. Grantley Berkeley, but also, more gravely, in Lord Mahon's "History of England."

Charles Knight relates, in the commencement of his "Passages of a Working Life," that he remembered, as a boy, the murder of John Mellish, who was shot by highwaymen near the Magpies, on Hounslow Heath, as he was returning from hunting with the King's hounds, in the

spring of 1798. The assassins, in accordance with the horrible custom of the time, were, after being hanged until they were dead, suspended from a gibbet erected on the scene of their crime. "Between the two roads," says Knight, "near a clump of firs, was a gibbet, on which two bodies hung in chains. The chains rattled; the iron plates scarcely held the gibbet together; the rags of the highwaymen displayed their horrible skeletons within."

Hounslow Heath continued to be a haunt of such nefarious characters down to the end of the first quarter of the present century. A man named Steele was robbed and murdered on the heath in 1806, the circumstance being rendered memorable by the fact that, at the execution of the murderer, thirty persons were crushed to death in the dense crowd around the gallows. Cyrus Redding, writing of the same date in his reminiscences, says, "It was a cold night when I crossed Hounslow Heath about midnight, after eighteen hours' travelling. All the coaches had guards, and ours prepared his pistols and blunderbuses soon after we left Reading: a paradoxical mark that we were approaching the more civilised part of the kingdom. An officer had been shot

at in his carriage by a highwayman while crossing the heath a few days before."

Crabb Robinson mentions, in his diary, crossing Hounslow Heath on a stage-coach in 1819, and being told by one of his fellow-passengers that forty years previously—and it might have been said with equal truth of a period twenty years later—the road was "literally lined with gibbets, on which were in irons the carcasses of malefactors blackening in the sun." The gibbets appear, from Rocque's map of Middlesex, to have stood on the point of land formed by the junction of the road leading to Staines with the Bath road. The horrible spectacle which they presented seems to have been removed at length, not so much in deference to ordinary feelings of humanity, as on account of the eye-sore they constituted to the royal personages so frequently in those days travelling over the heath in their journeys between London and Windsor. The barbarous institution of the gibbet was not abolished until nearly the middle of the present century, the last having been erected near Leicester in 1835.

Robberies on Hounslow Heath continued to be far from unfrequent until many years of the

present century had passed away; and they did not indeed finally cease until the introduction of railways removed from the road both the post-chaise and the stage-coach. "It is strange," says Lord Mahon, "that so highly civilised a people should have endured these highway robberies so long," adding an expression of wonder that the "gentlemen of the road," as they were called, should have been regarded by their contemporaries with feelings of leniency, and almost of admiration. Though De Quincey can scarcely be supposed to have been quite serious in his eulogy of "the dashing highwayman," there seems to have been a halo of romance surrounding the life of the Duvals and the Ranns, such as we find reflected in Bulwer's "Paul Clifford," Ainsworth's "Rookwood," Miss Robinson's "Whitefriars," and many another novel and drama of the first half of the present century. That the tone of mind promoted by literature of this kind was unwholesome is unquestionable; and it should not be forgotten that the romances of Bulwer and Ainsworth were the forerunners of the pernicious fiction of a later period, which has happily now become extinct.

THOMAS FROST.

The Strange Story of Elizabeth Canning.

ON the right-hand side of the high road through Enfield, at the corner of the lane leading to the Government small arms factory, there stood, until a few years ago, a two-storied cottage, partly of wood, with a window on each side of the door, which nearly a century and a half ago had a prominent place in the extraordinary narrative of a highly imaginative young person named Elizabeth Canning. A ground-plan of the cottage and an interior view may be seen in Robinson's "History of Enfield," and also in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xviii. At the time when it had such an unenviable notoriety bestowed upon it, Elizabeth Canning, then eighteen years of age, had been ten weeks in the service of a baker living near Aldermanbury Postern, and had always borne a good character. Her mother, who was the widow of a sawyer, was an industrious and reputable woman, and received much sympathy from everyone who knew her, and from the public generally, when the circumstances attending the starting point of her daughter's strange story became known.

On the first day of 1753 Elizabeth obtained a holiday, and availed of it to visit some relations living at Saltpetre Bank, near Rosemary Lane. She left them in the evening, and was afterwards seen near Houndsditch, when she was walking towards the City; but from that time she was lost to all who knew her for the next four weeks. Inquiries were made in every direction, but not a trace of the missing girl could be found. Prayers were offered in churches and chapels "that her return may be speedy, and that she may not be led into temptation, but be delivered from all evil." Recourse was also had to a fortune-teller, who predicted that she would return in a short time, but was then in the power of an old black woman—an intimation to which much weight was subsequently attached by her friends.

On the evening of the twenty-eighth day of her absence, just as her mother had assembled her children around her for prayers, as was her custom, Elizabeth entered, no longer plump, rosy, and well-dressed, as she had been at the time of her disappearance, but pale, emaciated, and scantily clothed. In reply to her mother's eager and anxious inquiries, she stated that, on the evening of her disappearance, she was assaulted

near Bishopsgate by two men, who pulled off her cap, apron, and gown, and dragged her towards Moorfields, threatening to cut her throat if she made any outcry or resistance. One of the ruffians struck her, on which she was seized with a fit, to which she was subject; and when she recovered from it she found that she was being dragged along a strange road. About four o'clock on the following morning her abductors paused at a lonely house, where she was received by a repulsive-looking old woman, who robbed her of her stays, after cutting the laces, and pushed her into a room, the door of which was then locked on the outside, and boards nailed across the window.

In that lonely house, and in that room, she had, she stated, remained confined until the day of her return home, and during all that time she had subsisted upon stale crusts of bread. The only clue she could give to the situation of the house was that through an opening between the boards which darkened the window she had one day seen the Hertford coach pass. The object of her detention, and of the semi-starvation to which she was subjected, was, she alleged, to compel her to adopt an immoral course of life,

which several other girls living in the house were following. She had held out firmly, she said, against persuasion, threats, and privations, and at length succeeded in effecting her escape, by removing one of the boards and opening the window, from which she jumped into the road.

On being taken by her mother to the Guildhall, her deposition led the police-officers to suspect that the place of her detention was a notorious house of infamy between Enfield and Waltham Cross, which was kept by an old woman named Wells. Sir Crisp Gascoigne, who was then chief magistrate of the City, issued a warrant for the apprehension of this person on suspicion, and Elizabeth Canning and several of her friends accompanied the officer by whom it was executed. On entering the house, the officer immediately detected several discrepancies in the girl's story ; but she exhibited so much confidence in her recognition of the house, and in picking out from its eight female inmates an elderly gipsy as the woman who had robbed her of her stays, that he arrested both Wells and the gipsy woman, whose name was Mary Squires, and also a girl named Virtue Hall, who, according to Canning, was standing by when she was deprived of her

stays. On being taken before a magistrate, Hall solemnly denied all knowledge of any such things as Canning had deposed to having happened since she had been in Wells's house, and she was discharged from custody. Wells and Squires were committed for trial, the latter for robbery, and the former for aiding and abetting in the commission of the offence.

The prisoners were tried at the Old Bailey, when the evidence of Elizabeth Canning was supported in several important particulars by Virtue Hall. On behalf of the accused, it was sworn by two reputable witnesses from Abbotsbury, in Dorsetshire, that Mary Squires, who appears to have been a well-known character, was in that village on the day of Elizabeth Canning's disappearance; and by another that she was at Coombe, near Salisbury, a fortnight later. Notwithstanding this conflict of evidence both the accused were convicted, and Squires was sentenced to be hanged, and Wells to be branded andⁱ imprisoned for six months in Bridewell.

The case created a great sensation, and the excitement during, and for some time after, the trial was intense. Society was divided on the

question of the prisoners' guilt into Egyptians and Canningites, and pamphlets, portraits of all the persons concerned in the case, and views of the incriminated house at Enfield Wash came in a shower from the press. The Old Bailey was filled during the trial with eager and excited auditors, and crowds congregated outside who were unable to obtain admission. Doubt began to arise as to the truth of Canning's evidence, and further inquiries were made, the results of which were referred to the legal advisers of the Crown. Sir Crisp Gascoigne exerted himself actively in the investigation, and the tide of evidence, though not of popular sympathy, turned in favour of the accused. Additional testimony in support of the *alibi* set up on behalf of Squires was obtained, and Virtue Hall confessed that the evidence she had given on the trial was false. The gipsy obtained a respite, and shortly afterwards had her innocence acknowledged by the royal pardon. Both parties then prosecuted the witnesses on the opposite side for perjury. Those who had given evidence for the defence were tried first, and acquitted. Elizabeth Canning then shook the confidence of her partisans by absconding; but she subsequently surrendered,

and, being convicted of perjury, was sentenced to seven years' transportation to the penal settlements of New England.

There were still, however, so many persons who believed her innocent, that a fund was raised by subscription to "alleviate her distresses;" she was abundantly supplied with comforts while in Newgate, and when she left England permission was obtained from the authorities for her passage in a private ship. First-class accommodation was provided for her, and she was furnished with letters of recommendation to several persons of good position in America. On the expiration of the term for which she was sentenced, she returned to England, and received a legacy bequeathed to her by an old lady of Newington Green, who believed in her innocence. The causes which had led to her disappearance, the place of her sojourn during her absence, the motives which prompted her accusation of the inmates of the lonely house at Enfield Wash, were still involved in mystery. ' It may reasonably be surmised, however, that the whole affair arose from a desire to conceal from all who knew her some previous lapse from virtue. Once involved in a policy of deception and falsehood, she found herself in a

position from which it was as dangerous to retreat as to advance, and which could only be maintained by perjury. The truth, however, never became known.

She still retained so much public sympathy, though faith in her truthfulness must have been considerably shaken by the results of the investigation which followed the trial of Squires and Wells, that, on her desiring to return to America, a subscription was set on foot to enable her to do so. Subsequently she had the good fortune to marry a wealthy planter. She died in 1773, leaving one of the strangest histories on record "to point a moral or adorn a tale."

"Mother Wells," as the tenant of the house at Enfield Wash was called, returned to her old abode after she received the royal pardon, and it is to be feared to her old life. She died there, as the registers of the parish show, in 1763, at which time she appears to have been in the receipt of relief from the rates. Mary Squires is recorded to have died in the preceding year, and to have been buried at Farnham, her funeral being attended by a considerable muster of her swarthy race.

THOMAS FROST.

Salter's Coffee-house and Museum at Chelsea.

THE earliest notice of the collection of real and spurious curiosities which was for many years on view at a house in the centre of Cheyne Walk occurs in a paper contributed to the *Tatler* by Steele, in which the proprietor of the show is mentioned as Don Saltero, by which name he afterwards became generally known. His real name was James Salter, and he appears to have been living in Chelsea as early as 1693, when he opened the coffee-house, to which the museum was afterwards added. He had been the valet of Sir Hans Sloane, who gave him some of the curiosities that formed the nucleus of the collection. This was probably of slow growth, for its first advertisement appeared in the *Weekly Journal* in 1723. No charge was made for admission, but visitors were expected to take refreshments, and catalogues were sold at twopence each.

The collection, which possessed little scientific value, was arranged chiefly in glass cases placed

on tables in the front room on the first floor ; but the walls were also covered with curious, if not always genuine, specimens of natural history, etc., and a stuffed alligator was suspended from the ceiling of the entrance passage. The character of the exhibition will be best shown by an enumeration of the principal objects contained in the glass cases. The first of these contained a model of the Holy Sepulchre, inlaid with mother-of-pearl ; several cherry-stones with heads carved on them, a Jewish shekel, some foreign coins and medals, the antlers of a Guinea deer, the rattle of a rattle-snake, and a stuffed salamander. In the second case were "a piece of Solomon's temple," a Turkish almanack, a book printed in Chinese characters, the hand of an Egyptian mummy, a giant's tooth, and "Job's tears that grow on a tree, wherewith they make anodyne necklaces," with other things equally wonderful. The third case contained preserved scorpions and snakes, a tarantula, and the backbone of a rattle-snake. The fourth consisted of artificial curiosities, and included a nun's whip ; a pair of garters from South Carolina ; a Chinese dodgin, which they weigh their gold in ; a little Sultaness ; an Indian spoon of equal weight with gold ; a Chinese nun,

very curious ; Dr. Durham's paper made of nettles. The fifth case contained a Muscovy snuff-box, made of an elk's foot ; a humming bird's nest, with two young ones in it ; a starved swallow ; the head of an Egyptian ; a lock of hair of a Goa goat ; belts of wampum ; Indian money ; the fruit of the horn tree.

Among the articles displayed on the walls, and in various parts of the coffee-room, were what professed to be the coat of mail, gloves, and spurs of Henry VIII., the prayer-book of Elizabeth ; a set of beads, made of the bones of St. Anthony of Padua, and consecrated by Pope Clement VII. ; a piece of the Bolsover oak ; a petrified child ; the sword of William the Conqueror ; the broadsword of Oliver Cromwell ; the staff of the King of Whydah ; a tobacco pipe that had belonged to the Emperor of Morocco ; the crown of an Indian prince ; a starved cat, found between the walls of Westminster Abbey, when the east end was repaired ; the jaws of a wild boar that was starved to death by his tusks growing inward ; a frog, fifteen inches long, found in the Isle of Dogs ; the lance of Tow-How-Sham, King of the Darien Indians, with which he killed six Spaniards, and took a tooth out of each head, and

put in his lance as a trophy; a coffin of state for a friar's bones; a snake, seventeen feet long, taken in Sumatra; a dolphin with a flying fish in its mouth; the pin-cushion of Mary of Scotland; manna from Canaan; a mermaid fish; a "wild man of the woods;" a snake's skin, ten feet and a half long; and many other curiosities less wonderful.

From Nichols's edition of the *Tatler* we learn that the "coffin of state for a friar's bones" was an elaborately carved and gilt coffin presented by the Emperor of Japan to the King of Portugal, but captured on the voyage by an English privateer, whose captain gave it to Salter. The broad-sword said to have belonged to Oliver Cromwell may have been a genuine relic of the Protector, as, according to Pennant, Richard Cromwell was a frequent visitor to Salter's in its earliest days. The catalogues of the museum contain, in the editions of 1739, a list of contributors to the collection, in which the name of Sir Hans Sloane appears at the head, followed by those of Sir John Cope and his son, "the first generous benefactors." The Copes were neighbours of Salter. In an account of the museum that appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in

1799, it is stated that Admiral Sir John Munden, and other officers who had cruised around the coasts of Spain, had presented many curious objects to the collection; but the list of donors does not include Sir John, though the name of Munden appears in an earlier edition of the catalogue. The various editions of the catalogue differ in some particulars as to the articles included. For instance, a portion of the root of a tree, having a fanciful resemblance to a pig, and described in some editions as "a lignified hog," is omitted in others, and Mr. Smith remarks, in his "Historical and Literary Curiosities," that the collection was probably not preserved entire until the time of its dispersion.

The title of Don Saltero, by which the proprietor of this extraordinary collection was so well known in his own day, was conferred upon him by Steele in the paper which has been mentioned. "When I came into the coffee-house," says the writer, in relating his visit, "I had not time to salute the company before my eye was diverted by ten thousand gimcracks, round the room and on the ceiling. . . . When my first astonishment was over, there comes to me a sage, of a thin and meagre

countenance, which aspect made me doubtful whether reading or fretting had made it so philosophic." It has been surmised that the Spanish title was given to Salter on account of his "thin and meagre countenance," which was thought to give him a resemblance to the knight of La Mancha, as portrayed by the illustrators of Cervantes.

The date of Salter's death does not appear to be known, but the exhibition, which must have been a profitable one, was carried on by his daughter, a widow named Hall, until about 1760. Of the subsequent history of the place nothing is known, but it probably continued in existence until the beginning of 1799, when the lease of the premises and the collection of curiosities were sold by auction, the house being described in the announcement of the sale as "a substantial and well-erected dwelling-house and premises, delightfully situate, facing the river Thames, commanding beautiful views of the Surrey hills, and the adjacent country, in excellent repair, held for a term of thirty-nine years from Christmas last, at a ground rent of £3 10s. per annum."

The museum was on view for six days preceding the sale, catalogues of the curiosities

being sold for sixpence each. Though described by the auctioneer as a "valuable collection," comprising "a curious model of our Saviour's sepulchre, a Roman bishop's crosier, antique coins and medals, minerals, fossils, antique fire-arms, curious birds, fishes, and other productions of nature, and a large collection of various antiquities and curiosities, glass cases, etc.," the entire produce of the sale was only a very little over fifty pounds. The number of lots was a hundred and twenty-one, the highest price realised by any single lot being thirty-six shillings, at which amount lot ninety-eight, the model of the Holy Sepulchre, was knocked down. No record appears to exist of the names of the purchasers, and it seems very doubtful whether any of the curiosities are now in existence.

THOMAS FROST.

Bearing Away the Bell.

JAMES the First is credited with placing horse-racing on a permanent footing in England. His interest in the turf was the result of accidental circumstances. A number of Spanish horses, it is said, were thrown overboard from the ships of the Armada, and reached the shores of Galloway, and that their speed was found much superior to that of those belonging to this country. The King was at Newmarket in 1605, it is believed for the first time, but the suitability of the place for racing had been recognised before this period. We find from Nichols's "Progresses of James I.," that he was at Lincoln in 1607, and acted as a sort of clerk of the course. It is quite clear, however, that races were popular before the time of James I., and in many instances the prizes consisted of small silver bells.

Chester races are regarded as the oldest in England, and an order relating to them, dated January 10th, 1571, provides for the Saddlers' ball, which was of silk, being changed for a silver bell of the value of 3s. 4d. as the prize of the

winning horse. In 1610 three cups were substituted for the bell, and in 1623, "one faire silver cuppe," valued at £8, in place of three smaller cups.

According to Camden, in his "Britannia," as early as 1590 horse-racing was practised in the Forest of Galtres, on the east side of the city of York, the prize being a small bell of gold or silver, which was attached to the head-gear of the winning horse, which was led about in triumph. This custom gave rise to the popular phrase of "Bearing away the bell," or "To bear away the bell."

The citizens of York were so interested in the sport that during the great frost of 1607, when the river Ouse was frozen over, and was so hard that carts and carriages passed over in safety, a horse-race was run upon it, from the tower of Mary's gate to Skeldergate postern.*

We have traces of the silver bell in Cromwell's county, and we know that the Protector took a pride in a fast running horse. Manningham, in his "Diary," has the following entry: "To-day (6 April, 1602), there was a race at Sapley, neere Huntingdon, invented by the gentlemen of that

* Drake's "Eboracum."

county ; at this, Mr. Oliver Cromwell's horse won the sylver bell ; and Mr. Cromwell had the glory of the day."* The Mr. Oliver Cromwell whose horse bore away the bell was uncle to his namesake, the Protector.

An allusion to this subject appears in an epitaph quoted in Camden's "Remains," as follows :—

" Here lies the man whose horse did gain
The bell, in the race on Salisbury plain."

The magistrates of Dumfries, on April 15th, 1662, ordered the town treasurer to purchase a silver bell as a prize to be run for annually by the "work-horses" of the burgh. May was the month fixed for the races, and the same horse and rider had to win the bell three consecutive years before it should become his property. We are not aware if anyone actually acquired the original bell ; the conditions were by no means easy. The races were suppressed, as they had given rise to a serious scandal, and, in 1716, the treasurer was instructed to sell the silver bell.†

We have traces of other silver bells in Scotland. As early as 1552, annual horse-races were estab-

* Camden Society, 1868.

† Tyack's "A Book About Bells," 1898.

lished at Haddington, the prize for the winner being a silver bell. Dr. Charles Rogers thinks that the Lanark races may belong to this period. The chief prize was a silver bell. It is four and a half inches in length, and four and a half inches at its greatest diameter, and to it are attached seventeen shields bearing the names of the winners. The name of Sir Iohne Hamilton of Trabio, with the date 1628, is engraved on the oldest shield. At Paisley, in 1608, the town council instituted an annual horse-race, and voted a silver bell for the winning horse.*

Many allusions occur in the municipal records of Carlisle to Horse and Nage Bells, and some years ago two of the bells were found in an old box in the Town Clerk's office. It will be seen from the drawings we give that the bells are globular in form, having slits at the bottom. Formerly in each bell was a ball for producing sound, but these are lost. Round the larger bell is a band bearing an inscription as follows :—

+ THE + SWEFTES + HORSE + THES +
 BEL + TO + TAK
 + FOR + MI + LADE + DAKER + SAKE

It is suggested, and most likely correctly, that

* Rogers's "Social Life in Scotland," 1884.

the lady referred to on the bell is Elizabeth, was daughter of George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, and wife of William, Lord Dacre of Gilsland, who was Governor of Carlisle in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This bell is two and a quarter inches in diameter. The second bell is smaller, and also of silver. It bears the initials H. B. M. C. (Henry Baines, Mayor of Carlisle), and the date 1559. Carlisle races were held on Shrove Tuesday on Kingsmoor, and were popular with all classes of the community.*

Small silver bells were also given in some instances as prizes at school cock-fights. From a remote period down to comparatively modern times, schoolrooms were turned into cock-pits, and masters and pupils enjoyed the cruel pastime of cock-fighting. Not a few of the old school teachers added greatly to their incomes by payments made by boys for gamecocks, and from visitors going to the schools to witness the sports. Bygone school regulations and accounts include allusions to the practice. At Sedbergh Grammar School, Yorkshire, the master used to receive on Shrove Tuesday fourpence-halfpenny from each pupil for the purchase of fighting cocks. The old

* D. Scott's "Bygone Cumberland and Westmerland," 1899.

regulations of the Grammar School at Kendal stated that it should be "free to all the boys resi-



CARLISLE RACING BELLS.

dent in the parish of Kendal, for classics alone, excepting a voluntary payment of a cock-penny." At Grange-over-Sand Grammar School payments

of cock-pence were made to the master, and, at the commencement of this century, varied in amount according to the social standing of the parents, ranging from half-a-crown to five pounds. Without doubt the payment originated in the



WREAY COCK-FIGHTING BELL.

custom of fighting-cocks being provided by the master. The cock-pit at Heversham, near Milnthorpe, was near the school, and was in existence down to recent times.

The town accounts of Congleton contain a payment :—

“1601. Payd John Wagge for dressynge the
 school-house at the great [Congleton]
 cock-fyghte - - - - - 0 0 4.”

Old school bills often include items similar to the following, copied from Sir James Mackintosh's account from the master of Fortrose School :—

“1776-7. To cocks'fight dues for 2 years
 2s. 6d. each - - - - - 5s. 0d.”

The Rev. A. R. Hall, vicar of Wreay, near Carlisle, in a lecture delivered some time ago, referred to Shrove Tuesday festivities, for which the parish was once famous. “Up to about 1790,” said Mr. Hall, “the chief feature of these was a great cock-fight. The boys of the school elected from among themselves two captains, and on Shrove Tuesday demanded (and received as a matter of course) from the master a holiday. Then the two captains, each at the head of his own friends, one side wearing blue and the other red ribbons, marched in a procession to the village green, where each produced three cocks, and a certain silver bell was attached to the hat of the victor, and held by him for a year, when it was handed over to the more successful captain. The

bell was engraved 'Wreay Chapple 1655.' This date is remarkable. It was when England was under Cromwell, who, the previous year, 1654, had prohibited cock-fighting. It was the gift of Mr. Graham, and the gift seemed to have been meant to show his contempt for the Roundhead Government. After the cock-fighting had at last come to an end, a hunt of harriers on Shrove Tuesday was for many years an institution at Wreay. The hunt was followed by a public dinner, and the election of a Mayor for the ensuing year—a kind of 'abbot of misrule,' who immediately after his election was chaired along the village green, pelted with oranges, accompanied by musicians playing 'See the Conquering Hero Comes.' The Mayors were elected sometimes from Wreay, sometimes from Carlisle, and those who wished to keep up the due dignity of the office chartered a coach and four to bring their friends along the Carlisle road. There were also sports, including jumping and racing. The old silver bell was used to ornament the Mayor's wand of office. But in 1872 it was stolen by some thief, and Wreay lost the relic which had been connected for 217 years with its Shrovetide observances. In 1880 the hunt,

as well as the election of Mayor, came to an end."

Pocklington Grammar School dates back to 1514, and has been the *alma mater* of not a few



POCKLINGTON COCK-FIGHTING BELL.

famous scholars, and under its present headmaster holds a high place among North Country schools. It is not surprising that in the olden time the school was noted for its cock-fighting, for it is

in the centre of a sporting district. A small silver bell, known as "the cock-fighting bell," of the school has been handed down and held by successive masters. The weight of it is one ounce and eight pennyweights Troy. It is not quite two inches in height, and its circumference round the bottom is seven and a quarter inches. At the top is a small band handle, and at the bottom is a slit one and a half inches in length. Round the side is engraved in cursive writing as follows:—"Tho Ellison Moderator 1666 Scholæ Liberæ Grammaticalis de Pocklington. Johanes Clarke Moderator 1660 Scolæ Liberæ Grammaticalis de Pocklington." By the courtesy of the Rev. C. F. Hutton, M.A., the headmaster, we are able to give an illustration of this interesting old-time relic.

In Scotland many traces exist of the custom connected with schools. At Mauchline "Daddy Auld" stopped the sport in 1782, but at other places it was kept up to a much later period. Hugh Miller, in "My Schools and Schoolmasters," devotes considerable attention to the subject, and describes cock-fighting as he saw it practised at Cromarty Grammar School.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

A Leap for Life.

IN the days of long ago much business was transacted on bridges. On London Bridge, the most famous of English bridges, many prosperous tradesmen had their shops and homes, and here also was their house of prayer. Chapels on bridges in the olden time were numerous in this country, and some remain to the present day, perhaps the most historically interesting being one on Wakefield Bridge. The houses on London Bridge were in many respects pleasant residences. The River Thames, in the good old days, was a clear stream, and alive with small craft, occupied by gaily dressed men and women bent on pleasure or business.

On London Bridge, in the days of Henry VIII., lived William Hewitt, a wealthy cloth-merchant. He was a man of spirit, and ever ready to take his share in public affairs of the general weal. His fellow-citizens esteemed him highly, and, in course of time, he was elected to the proud position of Lord Mayor of London, and at the hands of the King he was knighted.

Good fortune followed his footsteps, his riches increased, and he had an income of £6,000 a year, a vast sum of money in those far-off times, and equal to at least £50,000 per annum of the money of our day.

Sir William's daughter, Anne, was heiress to his vast wealth. In her childhood she narrowly escaped a watery grave. Her life was saved by an act of great bravery. While yet a baby in the arms of her nursemaid, the girl, looking out of a window in her home on London Bridge, by some strange accident, allowed the child to fall into the fast flowing stream, and to all appearance her life was lost. The servant's screams quickly secured the attention of Edward Osborne, an apprentice in the house, and he, observing what had occurred, bravely leaped into the river, and was just in time to seize the frock of the child before she was borne away by the swift current. Happily, he was able to support her until assistance arrived, and restore her to her anxious and grateful parents. The brave Edward Osborne was the son of a yeoman, and a native of Ashford in Kent. Young Osborne continued in the service of his master until the girl he had saved grew up into a winsome woman full of

beauty and grace, and admired by many. Suitors came only to be rejected; her heart, perhaps prompted by gratitude, was set on the brave man who had saved her life. She was fifteen years his junior. Her choice met with the warm approval of her father. He said, "Osborne saved her, and Osborne shall have her." The couple were married, and the union was in every way a happy one; they were blessed with children, who brought sunshine into their household. Wealth and honours came to them.

In the year 1575, Osborne filled the office of Sheriff of London, and a few years later, namely in 1583-4, he ably discharged the important office of Lord Mayor of London. This was at a grand period in the annals of old England. Lustre was given to the days of Queen Elizabeth, who then occupied the throne of the country, by Shakespeare, Spenser, Raleigh, Drake, Sidney, Frobisher, Bacon, and other equally notable men. Queen Elizabeth showed her approbation of Osborne when he was Lord Mayor, by knighting him at Westminster.

After a life well spent as a devoted husband and father, and a trusty man, ever ready to render service to his fellow men, he passed away

in the year 1591, when he had attained the age of about seventy-three years.

The fame of his family did not finish with his death. His great-grandson, Sir Thomas Osborne, in 1675, under the title of Viscount Latimer, was made a Peer, a year later was created Earl of Danby, and four years later was advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Carmarthen. He became, in 1694, the first Duke of Leeds. If we are to place reliance on Macaulay, we must regard the first Duke of Leeds as "not a man whose character, if tried by any high standard of morality, would appear to merit approbation. He was greedy of wealth and honours, corrupt himself, and a corrupter of others." "He was not," continues the same writer, "without the feelings of an Englishman and a Protestant; nor did he, in his solicitude of his own interests, ever wholly forget the interests of his country and his religion."

The annals of the noble house of Leeds include many important passages, but, to our thinking, not one more interesting than the brave leap for life of Edward Osborne.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

Redbreast Lore.

THE universal respect accorded to the robin at the present time is no doubt in some measure due to the popular old English ballad, "The Children in the Wood." "This ballad," says Ritson, "was first entered in the 'Stationers' Registers' in the year 1595." Where is the schoolboy who has not heard how, after the two artless babes had been cruelly deserted by the ruffians whom their barbarous uncle had engaged to slay them, they wandered in the solitary wood,

"Till death did end their grief ;"

and how, when neglected and forsaken by human kind,

"The robin redbreast piously
Did cover them with leaves,"

thus earning the reverence of children of every generation? Perhaps the kindly office of sexton may have first been attributed to the robin from the fact that the hen bird often covers its eggs with dead leaves on leaving the nest, in order to conceal them from observance. However that may be, it was in ancient times currently believed

that the redbreast would cover the face, if not the whole body, of any person to whom circumstances had denied the burial rite.

Several beautiful legendary accounts of the origin of the ruddy colour of the robin's breast are extant. In Carmarthenshire and other parts of Wales a tradition is current that the little bird occupies himself by carrying in his tiny beak drops of dew to the mouth of the bottomless pit, endeavouring therewith to quench the flames that torment the souls of those who suffer for sin. So near to the fire is he said to approach in his errand of mercy that his feathers are scorched by the heat, and hence he is known by the name of "*Bron-rhuddyn*," the Welsh equivalent for "the breast-burned bird." Whittier, the New England Quaker bard, has made this tradition the subject of one of his poems.

The scarlet hue of our little feathered favourite's breast is accounted for in another and still more beautiful manner, by a legend which has obtained even more extensive credence than the latter; it is common in Brittany, as well as in many parts of our own land, and is not unfrequently met with amongst our transatlantic cousins. Robin Redbreast is by it held to have

been a pitying witness of our Saviour's shameful treatment when He was compelled to wear the ignominious crown of thorns. Seeking, if possible, to alleviate the pain of the Divine Sufferer, the bird endeavoured with his wing to turn aside the cruel thorns, but all in vain ; his own breast was torn in the attempt, and his feathers stained with the blood that flowed therefrom, mingled with drops from the bleeding brow of the Redeemer. A variation from the above gives the red colour as having been caused by a deep blush of shame at the wickedness and cruelty of the deed. Both renderings of this tradition have been celebrated in verse. The late Rev. Dr. Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, is the author of the following lines on the subject :—

“Sweet Robin, I have heard them say
That thou wert there upon the day
The Christ was crowned in cruel scorn ;
And tore away one bleeding thorn ;
That so, the blush upon thy breast,
In shameful sorrow, was impressed,
And thence thy genial sympathy
With our redeemed humanity.”

We subjoin also a portion of some pretty verses from the pen of the Rev. John Hoskyns-Abrahall, vicar of Combe, near Woodstock,

which admirably portray the superstition as current in Brittany :—

“ Bearing His cross, while Christ passed forth forlorn,
His God-like forehead by the mock crown torn :
A little bird took from that crown one thorn,
To soothe the dear Redeemer's throbbing head.
The bird did what she could : His blood, 'tis said,
Down dropping, dyed her tender bosom red.
Since then no wanton boy disturbs her nest,
Weasel nor wild cat will her young molest—
All sacred deem the bird of ruddy breast.”

No doubt the bird owes much of his comparative immunity from harm to the influence of these imaginary stories. In parts of Northamptonshire it is asserted that the reverence shown to him by man is also exhibited by the animals of the wood, and that few, if any, of them ever attempt to molest him. In Devonshire the bird is known as the “farewell summer,” and in various counties it has acquired the appellation of “the bride of autumn,” owing to the notes of its song being more distinct at the fall of the year. The saying in Suffolk is that if you take the eggs of the bird you will get your legs broken ; and a notion is also current that if any person has the ill fortune to have a robin die in his hand, that hand will ever afterwards be affected by a con-

tinuous shaking. In Scotland it is considered unlucky to molest

“The laverock and the lintie,
The robin and the wren :
If you harrie their nests,
You’ll never thrive again.”

The good folk of Yorkshire hold that if a robin is killed, one of the cows belonging to the person who caused its death will give “bloody milk.” In the neighbourhood of Boroughbridge, especially, this myth is stubbornly maintained to be a fact; and numerous are the instances which the local peasantry are ready to adduce to prove the truth of the assertion. This superstition is also to be met with in parts of France and Switzerland. Another cause for the veneration in which the robin is held is the superstition which obtains in the Midland Counties, that the bird is oftentimes the medium through which mankind are warned of approaching death. When a person is shortly about to die, a redbreast is believed to tap three times at the window of the house in which he resides. It is also said that when the bird perches high, it is an unerring sign of fine weather.

While the robin is the subject of many a well-

remembered story of our childhood's days, when
we wept with

"The birds in the air,"

who all

"Fell to sighing and sobbing,
When they heard the bell toll
For poor Cock Robin,"

he has not been forgotten in that portion of our literature intended for children of a larger growth. His familiar habits, his cheerfulness, and his constancy have been the frequent theme of moralist and bard. We can notice a very few only of the many references to the bird with which we have met. Good old Bishop Hall, the English Seneca, has, in one of his "Occasional Meditations," deduced a beautiful lesson of thankfulness to an all-provident Creator from the ever merry warblings and cheerful trust of the robin. Thomson, in his famous "Seasons," refers as follows to

"The Redbreast, sacred to the household gods,

* * * * *

In joyless woods and thorny thickets leaves
His shivering mates, and pays to trusted man
His annual visit."

The bird's apparent love of the society of man

has awakened a responsive feeling in the heart of
 “creation’s lord.” Richard Groves wrote :—

“Let not the harmless redbreast fear,
 Domestic bird, to come
 And seek a sure asylum here,
 With one who loves his home.”

Again, we have Dr. Jenner’s verses, beginning—

“Come, sweetest of the feathered throng,
 And soothe me with thy plaintive song.

* * * * *

No wily lime-twigg shall molest
 Thy olive wing and crimson breast.”

And who does not remember that old rhyme by
 Langhorne :—

“Little bird, with bosom red,
 Welcome to my humble shed.

* * * * *

Ask of me thy daily store,
 Ever welcome to my door?”

In a pretty little poem, Grahame tells of

“The simple, unassuming strain
 Of the redbreast’s song, the friend of man.”

Miss Agnes Strickland, the brilliant biographer
 of the queens of England, has invoked her muse
 to celebrate the robin’s constancy. We must
 bring comments to a conclusion by citing her
 verses, which are as follow :—

“ A thousand birds in joyous tone
 Proclaim the voice of spring ;
 But, Robin, thou art left alone,
 The autumn’s dirge to sing.

We hear the merry linnet’s voice
 When waving woods look green ;
 And thrush and nightingale rejoice
 When hawthorn buds are seen.

But when they wither on the ground,
 Then, Robin, thou art heard
 To mourn their fall, in plaintive strain,
 For thou art pity’s bird.

When fading leaves their shadows fling,
 I love to see thee nigh,
 A listener when I touch the string,
 And warble in reply.”

T. BROADBENT TROWSDALE.

The Legal Status of Women.

‘CHRISTIANITY,” said a lecturer on social reform just half a century ago, “redeemed woman from slavery, but it left her in subalternity.” So true was this remark that it is only within the period which has elapsed since it was made that the equal rights of the sexes before the law have been recognised by Parliament, and in some respects—in regard to divorce, for instance,—women still occupy a position of inferiority. Within the memory of persons now living, woman ranked only as a chattel ; a man’s wife and daughters were placed in the same category as “his ox, or his ass, or anything that is his.” Husband and wife were styled, in legal phraseology, *baron et femme*, words which, as a commentator on Blackstone remarks, attribute to the husband no very courteous superiority. He was the absolute master of his wife’s person, the persons of her children, and of her entire personal estate. The very garments which a married woman wore were not her own, in law, but her husband’s ; and she wore them, not as her

own, but as her husband's, as the law expressed it, "suitable to his quality, and to do him honour."

In those days a woman might bring a large fortune to her husband, and yet be compelled to sue him for a scanty pittance out of it to enable her to live. Not only was the husband the absolute master of his wife's personal property, but even in the case of heiresses of real estate, where the wife retained her property, if a living child was born to them, the husband had the disposal of the whole of the income for his own and her life. In cases of offence against the marital state, the relative treatment of man and woman, by English law, was equally and invariably partial in favour of the former. In Mahomedan lands, when divorce takes place, the portion which the woman brought to her husband is returned to her; but in Christian England, under the laws of "the good old times," if the woman was the sinner, she forfeited all right to maintenance and dower at common law; while if the man was the guilty party, instead of being punished, as in the opposite case, the wife was actually punished, by being divested of her property, instead of him! Even if she had

brought the whole of the property which the husband possessed, she was fortunate if she had a fifth part of it assigned to her, her husband being left in possession of the remainder, as in the case of Tomlinson *versus* Tomlinson.

Though it does not appear that the sale of a wife by her husband has ever had the sanction of English law, there can be no doubt that the inferior position which women formerly held before the law caused it to be generally believed that such sales were lawful, provided the transaction was carried into effect in a public manner. Not only were the sales reported in the newspapers, without any comment that would show that they were regarded by the chronicler as illegal, or any letters from clergymen or others to mark their abhorrence of the practice; but the women thus transferred from one owner to another, as coolly as a farmer would sell a cow, appear to have invariably accompanied their purchasers to their new home without protest or resistance, as quietly as in the instance which forms so strange an incident of Mr. Hardy's "Mayor of Casterbridge." Indeed, we read in a newspaper reference to a transaction of this kind which took place at Hull in 1806, and which may

be found recorded in the "Annual Register" for that year, that "from their frequency of late years, the common people have imbibed an opinion that the proceedings are strictly legal, and binding by law."

In a case of this kind which occurred little more than sixty years ago, it is probable that the woman obtained the advice of a solicitor when she heard of "something to her advantage." She was sold by her husband for fifteen pounds, and went home with her purchaser as readily and unquestioningly as the hay-binder's wife in Mr. Hardy's novel. She survived both her husband and her second owner, and some time afterwards formed a third connection, this time of a legally binding character. Some property came to her from her first husband, and her claim to it being contested by his relatives, she carried the case into court, when it was established that the sale by her husband did not and could not affect her rights as his widow.

It is strange at the present day to find in the *Times* of a date less than a hundred years back such a passage as the following in what appears to be a perfectly serious article :—"The increasing value of the fair sex is esteemed by several

eminent writers a certain criterion of increasing civilisation. Smithfield has, on this ground, strong pretensions to refined improvement, as the price of wives has risen in that market from half-a-guinea to three guineas and a half." A few months later it was recorded in the same journal that, "at the last sale of wives there was but a poor show, though there were plenty of bidders." There was no collusion between vendor and purchaser, as might be suspected in transactions of this kind, for the record goes on to state that only one of the women thus presented for sale "went off well, being bought by a tailor, who outbid eight of his competitors."

It appears that in some towns the sale of a wife was regarded so thoroughly as a perfectly legitimate transaction, that a toll was charged for the women taken into the market-place for sale, similar to the tolls charged for cows and other cattle. In 1820, for instance, a man took his wife to the cattle market at Canterbury, and requested a cattle salesman to sell her for him. The salesman declined the commission, on which the husband hired a cattle pen from the market authorities, for which he paid sixpence, the amount customarily charged for tollage in that

city. Can it be wondered, then, that such disgraceful transactions were generally regarded, even in the first half of the present century, as "strictly legal, and binding by law."

In one instance, which took place in 1802 at Chapel-en-le-Frith, in Derbyshire, a child was included in the bargain, as in the fictional case so graphically related by Mr. Hardy. Nor was the Church always so averse as might have been expected from giving its sanction to such transactions, if we may credit a report which appeared in an Ipswich newspaper, in 1787, of the sale of a wife by a farmer for five guineas, a bargain with which he was so pleased that he went to Stowmarket and had the bells of the parish church rung to celebrate the joyful occasion. As the freehold of a church is vested in the incumbent for the time being, the consent of the vicar to this use of the bells must be presumed to have been obtained.

It seems not improbable that the sale of wives and, as we have seen, of children also, was a vestige of the days of serfdom, which did not entirely cease in England until 1660. In Anglo-Saxon times, a child over the age of seven years might be sold into slavery by its father; and

slaves, both male and female, were in those days, and down to a much later period, exposed for sale in market-places. At the time of the Domesday Survey, the toll charged in the market-place of Lewes, in Sussex, on the sale of a slave was fourpence, or four times the toll for an ox. The sale of wives may have survived that of slaves, in consequence of the inferior legal status of women as compared with that of men; for even under the Plantagenets women who murdered their husbands were burned, while men who committed murder were hanged.

Until the passing of the Married Women's Property Act, wives had no legal right to the earnings of their own industry, or talent, even in cases where they had been deserted by their husbands, or had been compelled by ill-usage to withdraw from cohabitation. The case of Sarah Siddons, the actress, suing for a pittance from her own salary may be cited; and it was only one of a great many such cases. A wife might obtain employment in a shop or a factory, or enter into business, for the support of herself and her children, to which her husband did not contribute a single shilling; but she was always at the mercy of her husband, who might seize all

she had earned or acquired, whenever he chose to claim the rights which an unjust law conferred upon him. Lord Brougham remarked, in 1842, in the House of Lords, in the course of discussion on Serjeant Talfourd's Custody of Infants Bill, that "the husband possessed the power of seizing on the property of the wife, on the very fruits of her own industry, and of squandering it as he pleased on the most dissolute revellings or the vilest associates." The wife's only safety was in carrying on her business, if so engaged, under another person's name.

Children, like their mothers, were the chattels of the father. He alone had any legal rights over them. He could even send them away from the mother, and deprive her of the means of seeing them or corresponding with them, though he might be a monster of vice and the mother a pattern of virtue. This state of things existed until the passing of Serjeant Talfourd's Act, which conferred on the wife in cases of separation the right of having access to her own children. Nor did this unnatural concentration in the father of all power over the children cease when they were no longer of tender age. Until a late period of European history, the father had the power to

dispose of his daughters in marriage at his own will and pleasure, without any regard to their present feelings or their future welfare. The Church, indeed, as John Stuart Mill observes, was so far faithful to a better morality as to require the utterance of a formal expression of assent from the woman when at the altar; but there was nothing to show that her compliance was other than compulsory, and it was practically impossible for her to refuse to accept the man imposed upon her, if the father persevered, unless she obtained the protection of the Church by taking the vows of a nun.

THOMAS FROST.

Puritan Name Eccentricities.

OUR church registers! There is a certain savour of romance, of historic possibilities in the words. In three lines they may record all that the world will ever know of quiet, peaceful lives, that were lived out faithfully in the service of God and man. The keen lawyer, searching out the ancestral links of a dim chain of succession that shall establish the fortunes of his client, regards them with legal veneration; and the scholar, antiquary, and historian find in their time-stained pages the gold dust of forgotten days.

No doubt the reflections so gracefully recorded by the Rev. Canon Wilton have passed through the minds of most of our clergymen who have been so fortunate as to hold in trust an old parish register chest.

“In the scant compass of this iron chest
Lie the brief records of three hundred years,
The mute memorials of their smiles and tears;
Here side by side, ten generations rest,
As with Time's iron hand together prest;
A catalogue of names all that appears—

Faded their joys, forgotten are their fears,
And all the eager hopes they once possest.
With mournful mind I turn the yellow pages,
Read the dim notice of a long-past wedding—
How one was born, and over-leaf was buried ;
Thus swift and silent pass successive ages,
Like autumn trees their leaves for ever shedding,
Which into vast Eternity are hurried."

The Rev. Charles W. Bardsley, in his most valuable and interesting "Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature," dedicated to his fellow members of the Harleian Society, settles for ever, on the evidence of our church registers, any doubts that may have existed as to the extravagances of Puritan nomenclature. His remarks on the gradual adoption of Scripture names are most interesting and suggestive, opening out the past with its strange and absorbing studies of national life, its child-like faith, and its fierce and eccentric fanaticism.

From the miracle plays and religious teaching of the Church, the leading names of the Scriptures, as Adam, Eve, Noah, were adopted by the people, but it was not until about A.D. 1500 that Apocryphal names came into use, when the printing-press was commencing its great educational work. When the Crusaders returned

from their perilous adventures in the East, pious and appreciative parents bestowed upon their children the names of Baptist, Ellis, and Jordan. The saints' calendar had also its wide and direct influence, especially in the case of children born on saints' days. The names of the Apostles were naturally popular, being widely used, as our national records abundantly prove. The religious festivals were also acknowledged, the child so fortunate as to be born on Christmas day being not unfrequently christened Noel or Nowell.

With the publication of the Genevan Bible in 1560, came the Hebrew invasion, marking the rise of Puritanism. Thus Robert Pownoll, of Canterbury, christened his sons, from 1564 to 1572, Abdias, Barnabas, Ezeckuell, and Posthumus; and Michaell Nichollson Cordwayner baptised his children at St. Peter's, Cornhill, from 1589 to 1595, in the names of Bezaleell, Aholiab, and Sara, and in 1599 buried his daughter Rebecca. It may be that those good men acted under ministerial influence, the use of Scripture names being largely advised from the pulpit. William Jenkin, preaching in Christ Church, London, thus expresses himself:—" 'Tis good to impose such names as expresse our

baptismal promise. A good name is as a thread tyed about the finger, to make us mindful of the errand we came into the world to do for our Master."

Thus Mr. Bardsley in continuation of the "Hebrew Invasions":—"Amongst the passengers who went out to New England in James and Charles's reigns will be found such names as Ebed-meleck Gastrell, Oziell Lane, Ephraim Howe, Ezechell Clement, Jeremy Clement, Zachary Cripps, Noah Fletcher, Enoch Gould, Zebulon Cunninghame, Seth Smith, Peleg Bucke, Gercyon Bucke (Gershom), Rachell Saunders, Lea Saunders, Calebb Carr, Jonathan Franklin, Othniell Haggatt, Mordecay Knight, Obediah Hawes, Gamaliell Ellis, Esaias Raughton, Azarias Pinney, Elisha Mallows, Malachi Mallock, Jonadab Illett, Joshua Long, Enecha Fitch (seemingly a feminine of Enoch), and Job Perridge. Occasionally an Epenetus Olney, or Nathaniell Patient, or Epaphroditus Haughton, or Cornelius Conway, or Feleaman Dickerson (Philemon) or Theophilus Lucas, or Annanias Mann is met with; but these are few, and were evidently selected for their size, the temptation to poach on apostolic preserves being too great

when such big game was to be obtained. Besides, they were not in the Calendar! These names went to Virginia, and they are not forgotten." Amongst the objectionable Scripture names, the employment of which cannot be accounted for on any reasonable grounds, may be mentioned Bathsheba, Tamar, Dinah, Pharaoh, Ananias, Sapphira, Drusilla, Antipas, and Barabbas.

Here follow the baptismal entries of the twelve children of Anthony Grey, "parson and patron" of Burbach :—

" 1593.	April 29.	Grace, daughter of Mr. Anthonie Grey.		
1594.	Nov. 28.	Henry, son of	"	"
1596.	Nov. 16.	Magdalen, daughter of	"	"
1598.	May 8.	Christian, daughter of	"	"
1600.	Feb. 2.	Faith-my-joy, daughter of,	"	"
1603.	April 3.	John, son of	"	"
1604.	Feb. 23.	Patience, daughter of Myster Anthonie Grey, preacher.		
1606.	Oct. 5.	Jobe, son of	"	"
1608.	May 1.	Theophilus, son of	"	"
1609.	Mar. 14.	Priscilla, daughter of	"	„ (died)
1613.	Sept. 19.	Nathaniel, son of	"	"
1615.	May 7.	Presela, daughter of	"	" "

What about Henry! Was it the tribute of earthly affection to the memory of some well-beloved friend?

Thomas Heley, preacher of Warbleton,

bestowed upon his offspring the following names :—

“ Nov. 7, 1585. Muche-merceye, the son of Thomas Hellye, minyster.

March 26, 1587. Increased, the dather of Thomas Helly, minister.

Maye 5, 1588. Sin-denie, the dather of Thomas Helly, minister.

Maye 25, 1589. Fear-not, the sonne of Thomas Helly, minister.”

Fear-not, it must be admitted, follows close upon Sin-denie; perhaps there is in this a sense of theological propriety happily carried out.

In the fifteen years, from 1585 to 1600, “ Warbleton Register records more than a hundred examples of eccentric Puritanism.”

The following footnote in Hume’s “ England ” has amused and interested many readers, arousing the incredulity of some, and the scorn or indignation of others :—“ It was usual for the pretended saints at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, William, which they regarded as heathenish, into others more sanctified and godly : even the New Testament names, James, Andrew, John, Peter were not held in such regard as those which were borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah,

Habbakuk, Joshua, Zerobabel." Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury said to be enclosed in the county of Sussex about that time.

" Accepted, Trevor of Norsham.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield.
Make peace, Heaton of Hare.
God reward, Smart of Fivehurst.
Standfast on high, Stringer of Crowhurst.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lower of the same.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.
Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be Faithful, Joiner of Britting.
Fly Debate, Roberts of the same.
Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of East Hadley.
Hope for, Bending of the same.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Weep not, Billing of the same.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham." *

The historian assumed, however, on insufficient evidence that the worthy Puritans had changed their names under the influence of religious conviction: more probably they stand correctly recorded under their legal baptismal names.

The British Museum furnishes a second list,

* See Broome's "Travels in England," p. 279.

which Mr. Lower regards as being of a somewhat earlier date than Mr. Broome's. It runs thus:—

“ Approved Frewen, of Northiam.
 Be-thankful Maynard of Brightling.
 Be-courteous Cole, of Pevensey.
 Safety-on-high Snat, of Uckfield.
 Search-the-Scriptures Moreton, of Salehurst.
 More-fruit Fowler, of East Hothley.
 Free-gift Mabbs, of Chiddingly.
 Increase Weeks, of Cuckfield.
 Restore Weeks, of the same.
 Kill-sin Pemble, of Westham.
 Elected Mitchell, of Heathfield.
 Faint-not Hurst, of the same.
 Renewed Wisberry, of Hailsham.
 Return Milward, of Hellingly.
 Fly-debate Smart, of Waldron.
 Fly-fornication Richardson, of the same.
 Seek-wisdom Wood, of the same.
 Much-mercy Cryer, of the same.
 Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith White, of Ewhurst.
 Small-hope Biggs, of Rye.
 Earth Adams, of Warbleton.
 Repentance Avis, of Shoreham.
 The peace of God Knight, of Burwash.”

Mr. Bardsley's comments and evidence are both interesting and convincing: “I dare say ninety-five per cent. of readers of Hume's ‘History of England’ have thought this list of Sussex jurors a silly and extravagant hoax. They are ‘either a forgery or a joke,’ says an

indignant writer in *Notes and Queries*. The truth of the matter is this. The names are real enough; the panel is not necessarily so. They are a collection of names existing in several Sussex villages at one and the same time. Everything vouches for their authenticity. The list was printed by Broome, while the majority must be supposed still to be living; the villages in which they resided are given, the very villages whose registers we now turn to for Puritanic examples, with the certainty of unearthing them; above all, some of the names can be run down even now." *Accepted* or *Approved* Frewen, of Northiam, we have already referred to. *Free-gift* Mabbs, of Chiddingly, is met by the following from Chiddingly Church:—

"1616. Buried Mary, wife of Free-gift Mabbs."

The will of *Redeemed* Compton, of Battle, was proved in London in 1641. *Restore* Weeks, of Cuckfield, is, no doubt, the individual who got married not far away, in Chiddingly Church.

"1618. Restore Weeks espoused Constant Semer."

"Increase Weeks, of Cuckfield, may therefore be accepted as proven, especially as I have shown *Increase* to be a favourite Puritan name. These

two would be brothers, or perchance father and son. As for the other names, the majority have already figured in this chapter. Fly-fornication is still found in Waldron register, though the surname is a different one. Return, Faint-not, Much-mercy, Be-thankful, Repentance, Safe-on-high, Renewed, and More-fruit, all have had their duplicates in the pages preceding. '*Fight-the-good-fight-of-Faith* White, of Emer,' is the only unlikely sobriquet left to be dealt with. Thomas Adams, in his '*Meditations upon the Creed*,' in a passage already quoted, testified to its existence in 1629. The conclusion is irresistible : the names are authentic, and the panel may have been."

A hundred years witnessed the rise and decline of those peculiar and undesirable names.

It is, perhaps, somewhat remarkable that so few of the worthies bearing those extravagant faith-names come to the front in our records. Take the list, for example, of the pilgrim fathers who sailed in the *Mayflower* :—John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Miles Standish, John Alden, Samuel Fuller, Christopher Martin, William Mullins, William White, Richard Warren, John Howland,

Stephen Hopkins, Edward Tilly, John Tilly, Francis Cook, Thomas Rogers, Thomas Tinker, John Ridgdale, Edward Fuller, John Turner, Francis Eaton, James Chilton, John Crackston, John Billington, Moses Fletcher, John Goodman, Degery Priest, Thomas Williams, Gilbert Winslow, Edmund Margeson, Peter Brown, Richard Britteridge, George Soule, Richard Clarke, Richard Gardiner, John Allerton, Thomas English, Edward Dotey, Edward Leicester. Here we have abundant evidence of Scripture influence, but nothing extravagant, although some of the family names were sufficiently provocative. Included in the families, however, was a maiden named Desire Minter; William Brewster had two sons, Love and Wrestling Brewster, and two daughters, Fear and Patience; and Isaac Allerton had a daughter named Remember.

None of the chief leaders in the Great Rebellion bore the Puritanical grace-names. Pym, Hampden, Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, Harrison, Peters, in name at least bore no stamp or sign of Puritanical eccentricity; and the warrant for the execution of King Charles is equally free from such evidence of what may be, perhaps, termed a narrow and fanatical spirit. One grace-

name alone comes prominently to our memory from the battle-fields of that lamentable time—that of Sir Faithful Fortiscue, who, when the armies were about to join battle at Edgehill, went over to the King with his troop of horse, and charged with Rupert in that mad fury of unreflecting valour that levelled the general down to the captain of horse. Sir Faithful, however, doubly stained his name—in that he was unfaithful to the King in assuming arms against him, and unfaithful to the Parliamentarians, in that he deserted them on the field of battle.

While some smile over and others blame the Puritanical eccentricities of those old times, it must be remembered that the parents who bestowed those grace-names upon their children may have been actuated by a loving and hopeful spirit, and that their prayers went with the bearers, that God should justify their faith in the years that were to come.

EDWARD LAMPLOUGH.

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